

HE BUDGET: Emergency Aid for Health • THE FUTURE: Machines with Minds

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MARCH 1, 1999

THE MOTHER LOAD

Superwoman is
BURNED OUT

Should mom
STAY HOME?



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From The Editor

We have a right to know



Finance Minister Ian Martin has berated the people. As he and last week in his budget address at the Commons, Canadians worry about crowded emergency rooms, about understaffed wards, about waiting lists for tests and for treatment. And the man who started making the cuts in 1985 that created all the anxiety was back to see that he was ready to spend. In all, he thinks largely to increase treatment and the elimination of the annual deficit, the feds will use their growing surplus to pump \$61.5 billion of our money back into transfers for health over the next five years, enough to bring us back to where we were four years ago by the year 2001.

Braced down by year and by province, however, the numbers make a clear that hard choices remain. Take British Columbia, where total health spending is \$7.4 billion. In the next fiscal year, starting on April 1, the province's share of the additional transfer will amount to \$200 million, about 3.5 per cent of its annual outlay on health. As Health Minister Frank Franks said, Martin's last words "You can't take the money and give every body a little bit, because you will have no marked improvement in the system if you do that."

Frank's priorities for the new money are to cut down on waiting times for elective surgery, especially for children, and increase extended care patients out of hospitals to other facilities. She notes: "The whole system depends on whether you can move people through the system or not. And right now a lot of hospitals can't because there is no movement."

Another issue is how do we—taxpayers and consumers—ever

find out how the money is being spent, and how well. Lea Verdon, director of emergency medicine at Royal Columbian Hospital in New Westminster, B.C., notes that governments do not know how to measure performance of the health-care system and many institutions don't have a clue where the money goes. "Most hospitals," he says, "don't even know the cost of an appendectomy."

That is one reason that Prime Minister Jean Chretien quite rightly has been promoting a report card to make the health system more accountable. In other places, the results have been undermired. A U.S. publication called the "Consumer's Guide to Coronary Artery By Pass Graft Surgery," which rates individual surgeons, is credited with lowering the rate of the operation. In Ontario, waiting times have been cut since 1994 when hospitals started being monitored.

Despite provincial administrations have rejected a Chretien-style ranking. But the Martin budget does provide \$350 million over the next three years to fund systems that will allow Canadians more access to health information. What is less clear is how willing the provinces will be to become accountable to the public for service and performance. That was one of the undertakings rare at them—excluding Quebec—made when they signed on to the so-called Social Union last month. But the language is as fuzzy as most as it says: One thing is crystal clear: we now have control the right to demand action from the provinces. Last week, it cost us \$61.5 billion.

Robert Lewis



CT scanning: the need for a health-care report card

Newsroom Notes:

So much for Superwoman

One of the more captivating premises of 1990's television was that, when freed from their traditional, household roles, women could have it all—career success, marriage and family happiness and fulfillment. But that promise turned out to be



Deanne, Christol: pressure for change

somewhat hollow for many—event premier feminist Germaine Greer has declared that the so-called Superwoman is a myth. Today's working mothers have taken on careers, but statistics show that they still handle most domestic chores in Canadian households.

Working with Life Editor James Duncan, Senior Writer Patricia Christol—a mother of two herself—wrote the lead story in this week's cov-

er package. Christol reports that while it no longer seems possible to have it all, women have not stopped searching for ways to meet the demands of their multifaceted lives. "Women—and many men—are unbelievably passionate about this issue," she says. "They are fed up with feeling guilty, inadequate and overwhelmed, just because they are trying to do the right thing for their children." Governments and businesses are also looking for ways to help keep mothers in the workforce and retain top talents. "There's growing pressure for change," says Christol, "and it's already beginning to happen."

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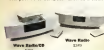
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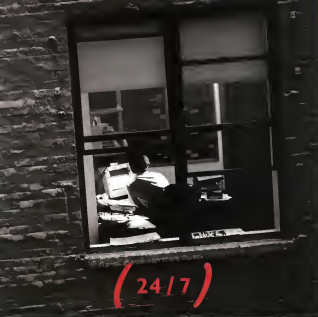
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Another View



Charles Gordon

Have we forgotten the Trojan horse?

The commercialization of just about everything began the day the Berlin Wall came down. That event represented the triumph of capitalism over communism, which no one will dispute, and the right of corporations to do anything they please, which hardly anyone seems to dispute either.

At least not yet. The free market is in. Regulation is discredited. Government spending is passé. And what corporations do, provided it is within the letter of the law is OK, even putting advertising on buses of Girl Guide cookies.

Is nothing sacred? The *Globe* and *Mail* felt constrained to comment. Here is its editorial: "The Girl Guides of Canada are going to solicit advertising sponsors for their cookies. Sigh." Although the *Globe's* founder would probably have harangued himself into a convulsion over it, advertising isn't unusual," the *Globe* continues, "we are a culture as much defined by what we buy as what we believe. And thinking creatively, it is just possible that, in addition to badges in pin-banking, fishing and canoe safety, we have Girl Guides could receive awards for demonstrating mastery of our fine art of product placement. Sigh. Sigh."

Could there be a better illustration of our modern dilemma? The *Globe*, so demon-strated by all the sighing, clearly knows that something is not quite right. But it cannot bring itself to say so, because "advertising isn't unusual" and because the Girl Guides are responding to market forces that we, by definition, good. Sigh. Sigh. This is not the only example of clericalist institutions entering into partnerships with the corporate world. There is the well publicized relationship between the Boy At Canadian Mounted Police and Walt Disney. There is the Bill Disney Co. in partnership with Canada Post, which issued a series of stamps featuring a Disney character.

More recently, there is a peculiar relationship between a doughnut company, the Canadian armed forces and the minister of national defence, as illustrated by a Tim Hortons commercial aired during the Super Bowl game. It shows the minister's limousine pulling up beside a Canadian Forces ship and several cases of Tim Hortons coffee being unloaded from the trunk for the coffee-hungry crew. This is likely to become a trend: Explains a Forces public affairs officer: "Next time I want to put out breakfast on a cargo ship. We're going to try to track down some company that's willing to put its logo on the back and cover the cost."

No money seems to have changed hands here, but are we, the Canadian public, ready for the *dis* of our armed forces being sponsored? Will we know how strapped the armed forces are and how much demands are already being placed on the taxpayers. If a cor-

poration wants to help out, where's the harm? That's the conventional logic. Sigh, sigh.

Further examples are all around. Some are almost too familiar, particularly in the world of sports, where corporations are able to attach their names to anything that moves, not to mention sits, skates or drives. We take for granted the advertising on the boards in hockey arenas, or on the uniforms worn by tennis players and men's car drivers. Just now is the time of the stadium or big game that does not have some corporation's name on it. And now Girl Guide cookies. Next the northern lights.

Can we do anything but sigh at this corporate invasion of our public and private spaces? We'll, sigh. To legislate here would be in violation of many fundamental human rights. And that's reassuring that the political will to take such action exists, which it doesn't.

The answer lies, as it usually does, with us as individuals. If we protest and make a noise, things can happen. The Nike corporation came to Ottawa last year to offer a free gymnasium floor, then withdrew its offer when city councillors asked questions about the corporation's record in the Third World.

Continuing attempts by corporations to get their names into schools have also met with resistance. The most recent example involves a school being offered a satellite dish and television monitors in classrooms, on which students are shown 15-minute news broadcasts that include two to 27 minutes of commercials.

It's leading us, of course, fast increase the appeal of such proposals. The school (or the city or the hospital, or the town) gets some equipment at little or no cost and is able to afford, virtually free. Only on rare occasions does someone dare to suggest that eternally free is too high a price. But, in the case of the schools, that has happened in the past, with groups of parents and educators being able to convince departments of education to look for homes in the mouth. That could work again, and it wouldn't hurt either to do some serious lobbying against backing out.

More direct approaches can work, too. Corporations are sensitive about their public image (otherwise, why spend vast sums to be just above the elbow in the left sleeve of a race car driver's parka?) and will respond to letters of protest. A recent corporation president is like a smart politician—able to recognize when the mail, be it snail or e-mail, represents a secret of public opinion that it would be risky to ignore. The president of a company thinking of putting the company logo on either the stadium or the cheerleader's shirt, would certainly think again after receiving some personal letters urging him or her to take another advertising approach.

If we want to stop the commercialization of everything, if we want corporations to keep their names to themselves, then we have to let them know. A sigh is just a sigh.

Opening NOTES

Edited by TANYA DAVIES

Extracting life stories

As the protests mounted in Cape Breton last week over the closure of the island's two remaining coal mines, one person who watched the developments with more than a passing interest was Gaetan Lawrence Boucher. For the past 30 years, Boucher has been photographing coal miners across the country and tape-recording their first-person accounts of life on the job. The result is his recently published book, *Candlelit Cries: Portraits of Canadian Coal Miners*, which features 380 black-and-white photographs of miners, and includes brief excerpts of his conversations with men—and a few women—for whom coal mining has been a way of life. "The thing that struck me most is that, contrary to the popular belief of coal mining as being a dangerous and ugly job, it's more than 50 per cent of the people I talked to enjoyed what they did," says Boucher, 56, who has met hundreds of miners through his former job as a federal civil servant and later as a civil engineering manager with Golder Canada.

All the same, tragically odd creeps into his generally upbeat book. Among several stories of men dying underground, one of the most



Boucher: miners at the Smoky River mine in Grande Cache, Alta. (right): job employment



poignant comes from Joe Parker of Fortin, B.C., who was working his day shift at the Balmer North Mine when he learned that his 28-year-old son had just died in an explosion at the same mine. As for the Cape Breton mine: closures—which will put 1,500 people out of work—Boucher underpins the economics driving the move, but laments the emotional toll it will take. "It's grating to be pretty sad," he says. "It's a big loss."

CAPITAL CONFIDENTIAL

Political leadership outspreads always leave debts in their wake—a fact that has broken dreams, bitter lessons, and more allies than not, a whiff of political debt is a candidate's credit line after leaving to John Turner in 1984, Liberal Donald Johnston held a piano recital to pay off his debts. This year, partly Conservative partly Liberal, the party's debt is a series of old grudges and other insults. They were buried his way at a toast in a Toronto hotel on Feb. 8, attended by about 250 so-called friends who paid \$500 a plate for the privilege. Most were Tories, including former cabinet minister Barbara McGonigal, who told Segal his campaign had suffered from the lack of sexual scandals. But there were Liberals, too, like Segal's former Canada AM



Segal: a fund-raising feast!

who didn't send a telegram, and Joe Clark, the man who defeated Segal for the leadership last November. Clark was kidnapped, however. "Joe Clark has been given a dramatic introduction," said Ontario Finance Minister Ernie Eves. "Unfortunately, it came from Dallas Camp." Tones, it seems, are doomed to be tones.

investing partner, Senator Michael Kirby ("Guns love to come to parties for defeated Tories," muttered Scott). Other guests included Ontario columnist Alan Petherbridge, and Tom Kiernan, chairman and chief executive officer of the C.D. Howe Institute. "I'm not good at meeting people," said Kiernan, who then proved it with a speech long on warmth and short on banter. The only notable absences were Segal's former boss, Brian Mulroney,

who didn't send a telegram, and Joe Clark, the man who defeated Segal for the leadership last November. Clark was kidnapped, however. "Joe Clark has been given a dramatic introduction," said Ontario Finance Minister Ernie Eves. "Unfortunately, it came from Dallas Camp." Tones, it seems, are doomed to be tones.

EMPORIUM

When the Canadian Soft Drink Association surveyed pop drinkers in Canada, Newfoundlanders were the largest consumers of the fizzy stuff. Ranked by litres of soft drink consumed per person annually by province:

1. Newfoundland	159.6	6. Nova Scotia	122.6
2. N.B.	147.1	7. Ontario	124.3
3. Alberta	123.3	8. Prince Edward Island	117.3
4. British Columbia	122.2	9. Quebec	101.9
5. Saskatchewan	121.6	10. Yukon/Manitoba	90

GOLDFARB POLL

When 1,400 Canadians were asked specific questions about women and their role in society, the older survey participants had the more traditional response. Percentage of adults who agree "strongly" or "somewhat" with the following opinions:

	Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
There is nothing wrong if a woman keeps her own name after marriage	79	77	76	66	78
A woman's place is in the home	6	6	12	27	42

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Boucher: now, and at the 1984 Olympics, "I did what I loved"

DOUBLE TAKE

Gaetan Boucher

After Gaetan Boucher won two gold medals at the 1984 Sarajevo Olympics, Winter Games, he became a hero not only to Canadians, but to the children of the last city. "When I was walking down the street, they would ask me for my autograph," recalls Boucher, who was victorious in the 1000m and 1500m events, and won a bronze medal in the 500m. "That was something else."

Four years later, after also winning the world championship in 1988, Boucher retired from the sport, taking time to finish the University of Montreal marketing degree he had been working on for several years. Since 1990, he has been a product developer for skate manufacturer Bauer Skate Hockey Inc. The company is trying to increase its

share in the skating market, allowing Boucher to keep his foot in the product he loves most. "I lost a lot of the skating we make," says the 40-year-old, smiling, "and I also get to test the competitors."

Boucher has been married for 13 years to Marie, a day-care worker and former competitive speed skater, whom he met in 1981 during a training session in her home town of Inverness, Nova Scotia. Now living in Montreal, the couple has four children, three sons and a daughter, aged 6 to 23. While he says his kids like speed skating, they prefer to use their genetic advantage on the ice for hockey, a sport Boucher also enjoys. "I never played much when I was a kid," he says, "so I just do it now for fun."

And his speed skating career, Boucher is proud of his time in the line light. "It was the whole experience," he says. "I did what I loved for so many years—and not everybody gets to do that."

LAURE FISHER

BEST-SELLERS

FANTASY

1. The Hobbit, John Gardner (3)
2. Southern Cross, Stephen Connolly (3)
3. Riders, Joe Schwartz (3)
4. The Iron Mountain, John Gardner (3)
5. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
6. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
7. A Ring is Not, The Lord of the Rings (3)
8. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
9. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
10. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)

NONFICTION

1. The Hobbit, John Gardner (3)
2. Riders, Joe Schwartz (3)
3. The Iron Mountain, John Gardner (3)
4. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
5. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
6. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
7. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
8. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
9. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)
10. The Lord of the Rings, J.R.R. Tolkien (3)

Middle-age crazy

ABC's Ricki Lake's Tom Allen takes a humorous look at growing older in *Joe Ruben's What Life Thoughts on the Passage of Aging* (Penguin). The 35-year-old poles fun at his expanding waistline, his frustrations in trying to cope with new technologies like e-mail—and his own aging. He's not alone: *Joe Ruben's What Life Thoughts on the Passage of Aging* (Penguin) is a humorous look at growing older in the United States, by the department of citizenship and immigration in Halifax. He was also ordered deported to Jamaica, where he was born and lived until 1974, when he moved to Canada. Boucher, who moved to Florida for 10 years before returning to Canada in 1995, was convicted of raping the family baby-sitter in 1992 and was sentenced to four years in prison.



Passages

TRADED: Pitcher Roger Clemens, 36, by the Toronto Blue Jays to the 1996 World Series champions, the New York Yankees, in exchange for pitcher David Wells, 36, reliever Gabe Kaprielian, 31, and second baseman



and second baseman Homer Bush, 26. Clemens, a five-time Cy Young Award winner, had moved to the Yankees even though he still had two years left on a three-year, \$37-million contract with the Blue Jays.

DIED: John Ehrlichman, 73, late U.S. press secretary Richard Nixon's domestic policy chief who was imprisoned for his Watergate conspiracy, after suffering from diabetes in Atlanta. Ehrlichman, convicted of conspiracy obstruction of justice and perjury, was sentenced to 18 months in prison. After his release, he moved to Santa Fe, N.M., and wrote four novels and a memoir, *Witness to Power: The Nixon Years*, published in 1983.

DIED: Film critic Gene Siskel, 53, partner of Roger Ebert on their popular film reviews, died of cancer in Chicago after surgery last May to remove a growth from his brain.

DIED: Choir-tapping rockabilly singer Buddy Knox, 65, best known for his 1957 hit, "Party Girl," died of cancer in the Bronx, N.Y.

STRIPPED: Canadian heavyweight boxing champion Trevor Berbick, 45, of his landed immigrant status as a result of his 1992 conviction on charges of rape, theft and manslaughter in the United States, by the department of citizenship and immigration in Halifax. He was also ordered deported to Jamaica, where he was born and lived until 1974, when he moved to Canada. Boucher, who moved to Florida for 10 years before returning to Canada in 1995, was convicted of raping the family baby-sitter in 1992 and was sentenced to four years in prison.

SOLD: G. J. Simmonds' football memorabilia, including his 1968 Hansen Trophy, for \$377,400, at his auction to help pay the \$50 million he owes the estate of his late wife, Nicole Simmonds, and her lover David Goldman after losing a 1990 wrongful-death lawsuit in Los Angeles.

IN GOOD HEALTH

Flush with cash, Paul Martin doles out money and some tax cuts

BY BRUCE WALLACE

"I want to know if he was running for leader of the party or president of Cuba," one Liberal backbencher whispered as Finance Minister Paul Martin wrapped up his one-hour, 30-minute budget speech to Parliament last week. It may have been a gaffe—compared with the multi-hour ramblings Fidel Castro is famous for. But Martin certainly missed no opportunity to square up liberal references to the Canadian values of compassion and care, and the Liberal party's determination to defend them. Jean Chrétien gives Martin enough leeway on budget day to deliver what is almost a surrogate thesis speech, a bar through the Liberal government's current state of mind. And behind Martin's rhetoric about new health care is a time to act upon a new national dream—a dream enshrined in the most sacred of Canadians and their sense of the common good, "his message was straightforward. We share your alarm about the state of health care. Money is on the way. And we hear your cries about high taxes, so take these tax cuts now as down payment on care to come later."

There are still a few things Canadians can take to the bank on budget day—notably that the rhetoric will flow just as fluidly from the government's critics. Opposition parties blamed the government had made all the wrong choices. Too few tax cuts, warned the Reform and Conservative right, not enough spending on the poor, wasted the NDP. On the left, business leaders quivered that high-income earners were not getting a big enough tax break, and used surprisingly strong language to suggest the new \$11.5 billion Martin plans to spend on health care over the next five years was a sign the days of their discipline are over. "Mr. Martin's taken out his credit card and he's really going to love it," was Canadian Chamber of Commerce president Nancy Huthless Anthony's description.

And as usual, everyone argued about the numbers. Quebec's separatist government denounced Ottawa's decision to restore the original spending formula for social programs, which doubles federal health dollars

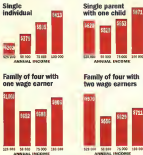


Chrétien and Martin: a tour through the Liberal government's current state of mind

SMALL STEPS

Total federal tax relief as of July 1, 1999

(combined 1998-1999 and 1999-2000 budgetary measures)



among provinces on a per capita basis. In 1990, Brian Mulroney's Tories capped payments to the three richest provinces—British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario—yet less per capita. But Martin's move meant Quebec's total share of the new health-care money was lower than Ontario's, something Premier Lucien Bouchard called "too dangerous" to go unmentioned. Martin said back that Quebec was benefiting from the other element of federal-provincial transfer payments: equalization, which sends money from rich provinces to poor. Under that formula, and largely because of the booming Ontario economy, Quebec will get another \$1.4 billion this year, up from \$5.9 billion. "Bouchard should not complain," said one Martin adviser. "That's just balanced Quebec's budget."

Bouchard claims the federal changes were an attack on Quebec's "right to affirm our distinctiveness." But it was hard to see how anyone could be shocked by a Martin budget, given the finance department's propensity for leaking details in advance. Finance officials wanted restoration of the old per capita system had been discussed at several federal-provincial meetings. And every Canadian has known for months pretty well what was in store. Certainly the premiers had a clear point since they concluded their social accord with Chrétien at 24 Sussex Drive two weeks before budget day. At that meeting, Chrétien promised the premiers substantial up-front money for health care, and pledged to restore most of the health-care cuts Ottawa made to provincial transfer payments during the height of the deficit fight.

On budget day, Martin came through. Ottawa promised to raise transfer payments to the provinces from \$12.4 billion to \$14.5 billion for the next two years, and to \$15 billion for three years after that, with the new money to be devoted to health care. And gave Health Minister Allan Rock \$1.4 billion for new federal programs, such as monitoring the performance of the health system. That made Rock and the provincial premiers (rather than the unconsolidated Bouchard) some of the happiest people in Canada last week. "I think the idea did the right thing," said Alberta Premier

Ralph Klein. Ontario's Mike Harris, eager to cement his tax-slashing image in advance of his province's coming election, even began talking to the budget's lower rates on the "Marta-Martin tax cuts," since provincial taxes are a percentage of federal rates and will fall in step.

The 1999-2000 budget had been planned along the health-care theme for many months. The only outstanding question to be resolved more exactly how much the Liberals could afford to spend, and whether they would give the money directly to the provinces or do something with it themselves. But such a new provincial health-care program, Chrétien never believed a health-care was the root of the strains on Canadian hospitals, arguing that provinces waste dollars in a centralized system. Meanwhile, Martin was standing guard over the federal side, telling anyone who would listen that global economic uncertainty required a cautious approach to new spending. In November, he told a frustrated Rock to expect an little as \$300 million in new money in the coming budget.

Martin's fingers were eventually freed loose by two developments. The first was the silver size of the surplus, now clocking in at \$11.7 billion so far this year. Despite gloomy predictions last fall, the Canadian economy continued to dodge the worst of the fallout from the troubles in Asia, Russia and Brazil, and Ontario's booming economy kept the revenues flowing in. The Liberals knew they had to find a way to get about \$1 billion off the current year's books or else, under federal accounting rules, see the whole amount given over to pay down the federal debt. And ministers lining up for the money knew it, too. "We'll ask the Finance guys where the bills that money going to go if not to health," said one adviser to Rock.

The other reason for the Liberals' sudden generosity with swings in public opinion, which began increasingly to see Ottawa as a culprit in the strains on health care, was the new "topical" issue of the 1999-2000 federal election. In the latest internal January poll, it numbered 25 per cent, compared with just five per cent for high taxes as the most pressing problem. But whereas Canadians had previously been far more likely to blame their provincial governments for the deteriorating health system, every new poll was showing more and more people blaming Ottawa's handling cuts to the crisis.

So with the books in good shape and Canadians less likely to distinguish between who was to blame, Chrétien called the premiers to Ottawa in early February and struck a deal. Martin's budget plowed the billions back into provincial transfer payments for health. The only other major new spending was \$1.8 billion for innovation and research programs—one of which attracted criticism from the World Trade Organization later last week—aimed at employment.

Martin and Chrétien had been tempted to make this a "productive budget," but Liberal strategists cautioned that the mere mention of productivity conjured images of layoffs and downsizing. Furthermore, most economists agree the surest way to increase Canadian living standards is to take a healthy whack out of taxes, and Martin could not afford to cut taxes and still use billions in new health-care money at the same time. Instead, he gambled that Canadians will stomach higher taxes for a bit longer, provided they believe they are getting good services in return. The cuts will have to wait for next year. Martin's advisers are already gutting out the word that anyone should expect deep savings in next year's budget, one that will be aimed, they say, at providing relief for the middle class. Just so there will be no surprises. □

TURNING PATIENTS AWAY

Can new cash from Ottawa end the hospital crisis?

BY MARK NICHOLS

As Finance Minister Paul Martin's race in the House of Commons last week to deliver a budget resembling an extra \$12.5 billion for health care over the next five years, Medicare's supporters were recording his distressing antics unfolding in Canadian emergency rooms.

It was as if the crisis in Canada's hospitals came to a head just in time to illustrate the need for an immediate cash infusion. In Victoria, hospitals faced with a shortage of beds and nurses were parking patients wherever they could find space—in a common room, in hallways and, in one case, in a lawn cupboard. "This is the worst time I have ever seen," said Donna Salzman, a nurse at Victoria's combined General and Royal Jubilee hospitals. "At Jubilee, we can be holding up to 25 people in emergency, some of them on stretchers, for up to three days." According to Ron Tompkins, an emergency physician in the same hospitals, pressures are so severe that emergency patients sometimes wait hours before being examined by a physician. In the past month he said two emergency room patients have died—probably needlessly. "Our very limited ability to respond," said Vancouver, "is dangerous to the public."

In Montreal, anasthetic doctor Errol Tracy, 69, in January that he has 89-year-old aunt Corinne spend 48 hours on an emergency ward stretcher at the Royal Victoria Hospital before a bed could be found for her in January. She died a week later of complications following surgery for a blood clot on her thigh. Tracy does not blame the blood clot itself but "people shouldn't be stuck in the corridor when they're sick," he said. Across Montreal—where scores of the city's 33 hospitals have been closed since 1995 as part of the Parti Québécois government's health-care reform plan—patients have been lined up on stretchers because of a growing shortage of bed space. The congestion, said Dr. Marc Boivin, head of the Royal Victoria's emergency department, is so bad as he has seen cases. "The health-care system is operating at absolutely no level," he said. "If anything goes wrong, the whole system breaks down."

In Toronto, overcrowding was forcing scores of the 33 acute-care hospitals in the region to turn away ambulances on one grey morning last week. To the relief of paramedics, Joe Gallagher and Paul Robinson, whose ambulance was carrying an 80-year-old nursing home resident suffering from shortness of breath and pain in her abdomen. Scarborough General was open—in theory. But the scene they encountered was not welcoming: about 20 stretchers holding patients waiting to be examined or to be admit-

ted crowded corridors. At the desk, a nurse scowled at the paramedics. "Who let you in here?" They wrapped their patient in blankets and pushed her in a corridor.

To the south, in Ontario's Niagara region, the situation was similarly bleak on one day last week all four of the area's critical-care hospitals refused to let ambulances unload patients. At St. Catharines' Hôtel Dieu Hospital—which may be closed in April 2000 as part of Ontario's national health-care restructuring—patients were parked in hallways. An 85-year-old man with congestive heart failure had been in the emergency ward for five days. "We have a woman on oxygen out in the hall," complained nurse Penny Kyle. "And every bed is full—what can we do?"

Shaken by half a decade of budget cuts and administrative changes, Canadian hospitals were hit even harder than in the past by the actual winter onslaught of influenza and chest infections. Their underlying difficulties include a growing shortage of nurses and a scarcity of long-term-care facilities. Across the country, hospitals' badly needed acute-care beds are filled with chronically ill patients who could be treated elsewhere—if only there were an elsewhere. After Martin's budget speech, Health Minister Allan Rock announced a "new era" in health care. But Ottawa's largesse will, in fact, only restore federal contributions to levels in 1985, when Martin's deficit-cutting drive slashed payments to the provinces. And experts warned that the federal infusion would not quickly cure deep-seated ills. "Ottawa's money at the hospital system may not help very much," says Kim McGrath, a lawyer with British Columbia health policy research. "The problems in health care extend far beyond federal overcommitment."

For Canadians in need of urgent medical care, the nation's hospitals all too often appear to be a state of chaos. Horror stories abound: ill patients turned away from hospitals, of cancelled surgeries, and entire patients flown across the country to the United States for treatment that cannot be delivered closer to home. In Toronto, a 45-year-old cystic fibrosis victim missed out on an urgently needed double lung transplant on Feb. 2, the operation had to be cancelled—and the donated lungs discarded—because no bed or nursing care could be found.

There is no single reason for the problems plaguing Canadian health care, experts say. The system is staggering under the impact of converging problems, including tighter budgets and a growing population of elderly Canadians. The fiscal crunch imposed by Ottawa over the past four years forced provinces to close



An emergency department: every bed is full—what can we do?

down acute-care hospital beds before the necessary alternatives were in place—long-term-care beds for the chronically ill and community-based services for patients who can be treated at home. "If the long-term-care patients don't have a place to go," says Dr. Nicholas Sirovica, associate executive director at the McGill University Health Centre, which administers five affiliated Montreal hospitals, "they wind up staying in acute-care hospitals." That is precisely what is happening—typically, about one-fifth of the 110 beds at St. Catherine's Hotel Dieu were occupied last week by patients requiring long-term care.

As for the nursing shortage, spending cutbacks have played a role there, too. In Quebec, 4,000 nurses left their jobs after the province offered attractive early-retirement packages in 1985. In Ontario, a task force recommended last month that the province, which currently has 40,000 nurses, spend \$275 million to train and hire 30,000 more. But the job lacks the status it once enjoyed. Because of generally poor pay and tough working conditions, fewer Canadians are training for the profession—and many trained nurses are being lured by better paid positions south of the border. Victoria Salzman said that after finishing a 12-hour night shift recently, she received three calls the next day from hospital officials asking her to return to work. Salzman refused—but says she plans to keep on working in the hope that conditions will get better. "When I give up hope," she says, "I'll resign from nursing."

How much difference will new federal funding make? In British Columbia, Penny Priddy, health minister in Glen Clark's New Democratic Party government, said Martin's the priority targets for the federal money include more cash for hospitals to keep up-appealing issues financial and to reduce waiting times, especially for children. As well, more will be spent on long-term-care beds. As for the province's doctors, who have been staging days of curtailed service to back up demands, Priddy asked, "Will more

money for physicians shorten wait times? I'm not sure that it will."

In Ontario, officials in Premier Mike Harris's Conservative government say the money will be used to tackle an array of problems—more nurses will be hired, steps will be taken to reduce waiting lists for cancer treatment and ancillary services, and an ongoing program to boost the number of long-term-care beds in the province from 52,000 to 77,000 by early in the next century will get a cash infusion. The need for those beds is urgent, says Cans Jackson, the minister in charge of long-term care, so "we can free up acute-care beds instead of just waiting for someone to die." But even under a pricier program, few of the beds will become available until next year at the earliest.

Despite the haste in suffering that emergency room chaos is causing, some health-care experts hold out hope that the current troubled period may ultimately prove to be a transition to an improved and smooth-running system. Plans for a more decentralized system that would shift services away from hospitals and into the community were just getting started when Ottawa's cutbacks hit. Ironically says UBC's McGrath, "if any law states the federal budget crunch to make things happen" by spending the rest of change. Sirovica agrees. "The federal cutbacks," he says, "provided the kick in the pants needed to make us look at a better way of running the health-care system. Hospitals are no longer the central place—they're important, but the majority of care is going to take place in the community and in long-term-care facilities." Sirovica thinks that "we now have the potential to create a better form of health care"—good news for Canadians who survive the current crisis state of a deeply troubled system.

With RUTH ARAMSON in Vancouver, ROSAN MCCLANDIN in Toronto, JIMMY MOORE in St. Catharines and IRANIAN ARAMSON in Montreal

A high-stakes gamble

Gordon Wilson abandons his party for the B.C. cabinet

BY JENNIFER HUNTER

Gordon Wilson pushes open the screen door of his clapnet house, bearing groceries and a bouquet of roses—a dozen long-stemmed, ruby-red roses for his wife. “These are for you,” he tells his wife, Jeff Tyshli Wilson, “for Valentine’s Day.” The wife’s day isn’t until tomorrow, but the Wilsons, the most talked-about couple in B.C. politics, are celebrating early at their small seaside home in Powell River, B.C., 130 km north of Vancouver. The bay window Gordon installed in the back of the house allows for a panorama of the Strait of Georgia, and tonight, the chairs of the sitting will be rearranged by his plans to cook a romantic roast; orange-glazed cornish hens with sausage stuffing. The sensory arrangements were made in advance because sometime Wilson, the governing New Democratic Party’s newest recruit, is off to Ottawa to meet with federal ministers.

It has been a month since Wilson, 50, left his job as leader—and sole elected member—of the Progressive Democratic Alliance, and he has helped found in 1995, and secured an NDP card. He was immediately given a senior cabinet position with two conditions: responsibility for the NDP’s relations with the federal government and a role in the NDP’s relations with the federal government. Wilson’s motives and what role Tyshli, an articulate and opinionated 36-year-old, will play.

It was their publicly played out love affair back in 1993 that first seemed to derail Wilson’s political aspirations. He had been the respected provincial Liberal leader, a father of two teenage children, whose wife, Elizabeth, said she was still doing his laundry while he was courting Tyshli. Tyshli was a 28-year-old Liberal MLA from Kelowna, with three small children and a husband. News of the passionate pen-debut between the politician Tyshli and the cerebral Wilson forced him to resign as Liberal leader and look for a new political vehicle. Tyshli lost her seat in the 1996 provincial election. Now the left-of-centre politician says the NDP—which is 16



Tyshli and Wilson: besides political disappointments, the past few years have been painful.

per cent in the polls—made him an offer he couldn’t ignore. “What was the alternative?” Wilson asks candidly. “Given the PDA wasn’t going to make it, give it a chance to grow into a party from the NDP to shift to the centre, why wouldn’t I take the opportunity?”

It was not the first time the NDP had tried to recruit British Columbia’s most popular political leader who in polls has consistently won an approval rating of 50 per cent or more. A year ago, the NDP asked B.C. Federation of Labour president Ken George to recruit Wilson. But Wilson remained convinced, at the time, that the PDA could gain more support. “Gordon always believed, until fairly recently, that he would become premier and bring the PDA to power, or that [Liberal Leader] Gordon Campbell would fall on a sword and he’d be asked back to head the Liberals,” says one political observer who did not want to be named.

But a by-election last fall in Parksville/Qualicum—where the PDA candidate came in third, despite Wilson’s personal popularity—convinced him it would be a long time before his 3,000-member, debt-

ridden party made any real gains. As a result, the move to the NDP began to make sense. “This is an experiment where either the NDP moves to the middle or they are out of the game,” says Tyshli, who often compares Wilson’s situation, as he does with him. “The fact they made Gordon senior cabinet minister and headed him the two bottom potatoes tells me they’re not only prepared to give him a profile but to also put him in a position where he can perform.” Wilson adds, “I’ll do well in this portfolio then the stakes are high for everybody.”

NDP insiders say there were a multitude of reasons to Wilson’s recruitment. It gives them an extra seat in the house (there are now 40 NDP MLAs, compared with 34 Liberals and one Independent), stops the PDA from siphoning votes, and supports the NDP’s aim of moderation. It also adds two of the government’s most controversial issues—the Nagai’s treaty and the ever more expensive forestry project—away from tarnished players, the Premier Glen Clark and into the shoulders of a party newcomer. “This is a bold move by

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the NDP says one political source. "It is a tired, demagogical party trying to create a sense of renewal. It has taken the calculated risk of bringing in someone like Gordon Wilson, who is difficult to handle."

It is Wilson's candour and individualism that could end up making him anathema to the NDP. Eleven days after being sworn in, he told reporters "a political agenda" was behind the following seats and named construction difficulties for the fast ferry project.

Clark responded by saying Wilson had been misinterpreted. "I don't think the NDP understood what they've gotten themselves into," says Liberal House leader Gary Filmon. Colman, "Gordie is very bright and very articulate, but he is a very self-controlled and shrewd to the damage he does to people along the way" Wilson asserts. "My nature is such that I like to get things done—but it doesn't mean I can't do it as a member of a team."

He has taken more than a few knocks for his switch. Bob Mar, the notable radio show host, chided Wilson for selling out "for 40 pieces of silver"—a reference to Wilson's salary hike of \$44,000, to \$109,000 per year. "How did you become a socialist?" Mar jabbed. "Wait a Dumas-Bla cover-up?" (Dumas didn't defected Mar's barbs. "Wait, you're cynical.") In Wilson's Powell River/Squamish Coast riding, fishermen Cyril Reid found a well-to-do couple outside his house. "He's a big boss. On a ship, a ship," Gordon Wilson turned out. "I wanted to say for the NDP I have voted for them," says a freestyler Reid, who supported Wilson in past elections and gave \$200 to the PDAs.

Many of Wilson's constituents, however, view the move favourably. In fact, the leap to

the NDP did not seem that far-fetched: the Squamish Coast was represented by the NDP from 1973 to 1986. "I'm not a supporter of the NDP but since he's an cabinet, hopefully Gordon will be able to do more for his constituents," says Ron Moss, a Powell River businessman. Terry Kruger, editor of the *Powell River News*, says he has received few racist letters. "Some people felt betrayed and upset, but others feel this is the only way he could have an impact," Kruger



At the fast-ferry project: one of the premier's last political gambles

explain. Even Daryl Clark, head of the local PDA, is pleased with the decision. "It enhances our chances of doing what we set out to do, to make Gordon Wilson premier."

Although towns in Wilson's outfit, like Powell River, Gibsons and Sechelt, are on the B.C. mainland, they are highly dependent on ferry service because there is no highway link to the Lower Mainland. They are also in close proximity to First Nations groups such as the Sechelt Indian band. As a result, WT's performance as minister responsible

for aboriginal affairs and ferries may have a huge local impact. "It could be, in two years, the people in my riding say, 'You've sold us out,'" Wilson says. "But it could also be, in two years, I would have moved to a position where I can do much more for the people in this province." Even some staunch NDPers believe if Wilson proves himself, he could run for the NDP leadership. Others say the party, more principled than pragmatic, could not accept an outsider as leader.

Asked about Wilson as a possible successor to Clark, a local source says "it's in his eye

and she needs—without saying anything. She may be open-minded, but she is trying to keep her ambitions for her husband in check. The past few years have been painful for the couple. In 1986, Tybirk lost custody of her three children—Kianan, now 20, Kim, 8, and Tania, 6—to her former husband, Kim Stedman, and sees them only once a month. (The judge at knowledge she was a good mother, but based his decision on her psychiatric political life.)

Last summer, Tybirk lost her job hosting a show on CHEK TV in Victoria and is suing for breach of contract. Her own legislative aspirations, meanwhile, have been shelved in favour of film production—an animated version of a play Wilson wrote about a poor child at

Christmas. She has signed an NDP card, is trying to recruit new members—and it's not ways to pay off the PDAs \$80,000 debt. "People either say I've sold out or my inner strength to follow 10 years behind my husband, or they say 'She's a ruthless wife, the one who's really in charge,'" Tybirk allows, as she smokes the Valerian. "I say now, 'But I'm not a manufacturer for Gordon—I'm here to protect him.' Given the potential profits in his new position, that may prove to be a full-time job."

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STREETS OF FURY

Kurds erupt as agents nab a key rebel

BY TOM FENNEL

Torned Turkey, Abdullah Öcalan is a controversial figure for the deaths of innocent men, women and children in a fierce guerrilla war. But for many Kurds—the 25-million-strong minority spread across parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria, as well as overseas—he is a spiritual leader embodying their cherished dream of an independent state. "There is a great love for Öcalan," said Christian Fernandez, a Kurdish activist based in Toronto. "He gave the Kurds back their dignity." In the wake of Öcalan's dramatic arrest in Iraq last week by Turkish agents, Fernandez helped organize an Ottawa demonstration that turned into a fiery riot, and she was unapologetic afterward. "Our people are angry," she said, denouncing the Turkish military onslaught against the Kurds. "Many people have lost families who were tortured and killed." Recently, they confronted with Turkish delight after Öcalan was transported out of Nairobi and returned to Turkey to face trial. There were celebrations in Istanbul—and violent clashes around the world. Over the past few months, the 40-year-old guerrilla chief had drifted across Europe in search of refuge, finally finding shelter in the German Embassy of Turkey's archrival, Greece. But under still murky circumstances, he left the embassy last week and headed for the airport. Turkish agents, who had been tipped off, were waiting. They forced him into a helicopter, complete jet, strapped a seatbelt around his chest and flew him to a military base near Istanbul. "McDougal" said one of his captors on landing as another pulled the blindfold away from his aviating face. "You're our guest now."

The video of the bearded agents huffing and laughing as they headed the country's most wanted man over to police was played repeatedly on Turkish television amid dancing in the street. But across Europe and in Canada, Kurds erupted. Demonstrations in 25 cities were torn apart. Three Kurdish demonstrators were shot and killed trying to occupy the Israeli consulate in Berlin after rumors spread that Israel's Mossad spy agency had told the Turks where to find Öcalan in London. Kurds occupied the Greek Embassy for three days, and a 15-year-old girl set herself on fire. She was hospitalized.

Within hours of the arrest 60 protesters at Vancouver stormed the Greek consulate. Some doused themselves with gasoline and threatened to burn themselves. In Montreal, more than 40 barged into the National Radio of Greece, smashing computers and furniture. Then came Ottawa the next day: nine policemen were hurt, including one



Öcalan and agents on the plane from Kenya. Öcalan protest (left) diplomatic nightmare

who was hit by a bullet fired when 300 demonstrators stormed the police line guarding the Turkish Embassy. They hurled rocks and set off the building, smashing a number of windows. Police finally drove them back with pepper spray and arrested three people. (Christie Fernandez, who tried to calm the situation, was not among them.)

The repercussions went beyond the streets. Three Greek cabinet ministers—including Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos—were forced to resign for letting Öcalan fall into the hands of the country's ancient enemy. A top Kenyan minister was also fired for allowing Öcalan and his armed guards to be smuggled into the country. With in Turkey, troops fought running battles with protesting Kurds in major cities, arresting almost 1,000 people. The military also pressed its war against Öcalan's followers, bombing Kurdish villages and pursuing his guerrillas into neighboring Iraq.

At the center of the firestorm was a partly rebel leader with a reputation for responding in blood to any challenge to his authority. Known as Apo, or uncle, to his followers, Öcalan (pronounced OJ-han) was born to a Turkish mother and Kurdish father in a village near the city of Urmia in the remote southeast of the country. He studied political science at the University of Ankara in the early 1970s, but dropped out and later tried to launch a career as mainstream Turkish politician. When that failed in 1978 he launched the Marxist Kurdistan Workers Party, known as the PKK in Kurdish, which promised to lead the fight for a home land. Many supporters hoped an eventual Kurdistan could encompass all the Kurds spread across the rugged mountains of southeast Turkey, not there Syria, northern Iraq



northern Iran and parts of the former Soviet Union. Turkey alone has 12 million Kurds among its 60 million population.

They have been denouncing the creation of their own state since 1923, when the Treaty of Sevres created Turkey out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, wanted all Muslims in the country to integrate into the Turkish majority. From the outset, the Kurds, who are Muslims, resisted, and their language and schools were officially banned. Such repression has continued. An Istanbul court is now deciding whether to ban Hakkari, a democratically elected pro-Kurdish party. Fugitive about being arrested for being armed," says Hakkari leader, deputy chairman of Hakkari. "You can be imprisoned because you speak Kurdish."

In 1980, when the Turkish army mounted a coup, Öcalan fled to the Bekaa Valley, a part of Lebanon controlled by Syria. Four years later, Öcalan's guerrillas began attacking villages along the border of Turkey, often murdering innocent civilians in the process. The Turkish military fought back, and the war escalated. Over the past 15 years, nearly 30,000 civilians and soldiers have been killed and another 500,000 Kurdish villagers have been forced to flee their homes. Massive air attacks on Kurdish settlements in 1990 and 1997 began to turn the tide in the government's favor.

Last fall, Öcalan ordered two major diplomatic detours. In September, two warring Kurdish brothers in northern Iraq agreed to sign a U.S.-brokered peace accord. In exchange for leaving the PKK guerrillas out of their territory, they were given de facto control of their region, which is protected by U.S. war planes patrolling the northern no-fly zone in Iraq. Washington, which uses Turkish air bases for its operations, fears Öcalan's group as a terrorist organization. Then, in October, Syria bowed to military

Washington merely and without "directly" involved. The Greek government admitted a fault over Öcalan at a Nairobi Embassy, but Greek Ambassador George Kostas said that he did not want to leave Öcalan to a new location, he became anxious and wanted to fly to the Netherlands. While the exact details have yet to emerge, soon after leaving the embassy in a car bound for the airport, he was caught by the Turkish agents. "He did this on his own and against our advice," added Foreign Minister Pangalos, before his resignation.

Öcalan's capture may prove to be a diplomatic nightmare for Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. The guerrilla leader now takes to a prison on the island of Imrali off the coast of Turkey. All other prisoners were released before his arrival and he will be held there until his trial before a military court. Diplomats assumed he was being interrogated, and Canada and several African countries said they wanted to ensure he has a fair trial and is not tortured. Germany formally requested observer status at his hearings. Turkey, however, backs a tough line. "The trial must last long," said Ecevit, "because the crimes of the PKK in leading to the cost of Turkey."

That stance, however, will not endear Turkey to the European Union, which it dearly wants to join. Ankara's treatment of the Kurdish minority has been a key reason for the constant rejection of its application for membership. Yet with Öcalan out of the way, there may be more scope for a solution to the Kurdish problem. "The struggle is not about separatism—it's about identity, autonomy," Abdelkader Fattal, whose moderate group DEMOS favors a peaceful solution. "Even most of those who go to the mountains with fighting because they want a separate state. They want to be acknowledged as Kurds." That, at least, would be a useful first step.

WHERE THE KURDS ARE



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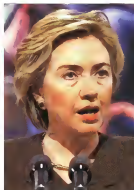
The battle for 2000

The race is on—
and Hillary eyes
the Senate

ANDREW PHILLIPS
IN WASHINGTON

Dan Quayle has already faced The Quayles, Sen. John McCain and George W. Bush. In the post-Lewinsky era, it's a variation on the old "have-you-ever" getting. Have you ever used illegal drugs, cheated on your spouse, done anything else that might come back to bite you? Quayle, the onetime vice president, told a national television audience that he has been faithful to his wife. Mr. Quayle, the Arizona senator, awkwardly edged that his affairs began on his first marriage, but drew the line at saying more: "I will not discuss or talk about that any more than that." Bush, the Texas governor, faced a barrage of questions from a TV interviewer: "Is there any lapse in judgment that would make you think twice about running for president? What about alcohol? Have you ever used drugs? Marijuana? Cocaine?" Bush answered he went through a period of hard drinking in his late, strongly cut-off military career. "I'm not going to talk about what I did as a child."

It will take efforts, perhaps years, to absorb the full effects of the Lewinsky scandal on American politics. But even before the autopsy verdict in Bill Clinton's impeachment trial stopped reverberating on the U.S. Senate, it had cleared the way for the next major political battle—the campaign for the presidency in 2000. This vote is more than 30 months off, but the fight is well on its way. For weeks, candidates and might-be-candidates have been hawking the states that will host the first two sets of political contests next February. Iowa and New Hampshire have been conducting a sort of political striptease—carefully announcing they are considering a candidacy, they announce they are setting up a committee to explore the idea, then announcing they are opening a headquarters to house the people who are doing the campaigning—and so on. And so if the road to the White House were not already long and tedious enough, more and more are facing the have-you-ever ques-



Clinton, gaining enough time for a serious reality check

tion—and must figure out what to say and how much, ultimately, it will matter. The post-Lewinsky landscape is presenting other, unpredictable features. No sooner had the war page out of the impeachment billion than a new bubble of speculation moved in to fill the void. For weeks, Democratic party operatives had floated the idea that Hillary Clinton might embark on a brave new women over her husband was in the clear—by running for the New York Senate vote to be vacated next year by the legendary Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Suddenly within 48



Quayle (left), Bush, a Republican run-figh-

hours of the President's acquittal, that possibility was on the front burner. New York Democrats urged her to take the plunge, saying she could lead all corners. Her husband raised the temperature by saying she would be a "terrific" senator. Finally last week, Hillary Clinton went out a mixed signal. She said she will "give careful thought" to being a candidate. But she said she would not decide until "later this year"—cooking speculation that she was on the brink of jumping in.

That will give her time for a serious reality check. The new candidate, of course, loses the idea of a Hillary candidacy—the unprecedented spectacle of a first lady running for office, especially in the heart of New York politics. New York races are hot month jockeying for the "Mother of all senators." With her popularity boosted by her well-regarded woman lawyer in the Lewinsky affair, Clinton leads polls pitting her against the Republican mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani, in a theoretical Senate race. But that lead might evaporate in a real contest, while she would have to undergo a grueling campaign and forgo the chance to earn millions in book contracts and speakers' fees. Senators earn a comparatively modest \$136,700 (U.S.) a year. And if she did win in November, 2000, she would sit up against one senator out of 100—winning would be a Republican, that majority that lived in fear of exposing her husband.

In the still unlikely event that Hillary Clinton does decide to run, her campaign will be a best-of-all-possible-worlds for the pro-feminist. Both candidates will be women, even earlier than usual next year—almost certainly by mid-March. In February, New Hampshire holds the first primary contest and Iowa hosts its "caucuses"—key early tests of support. But the crucial date is March 3, California declared last but to more as primary states in that day, stages it at the same time as New York and three other eastern states. A week later, on March 14, Texas, Florida and another three states hold the so-called Super Tuesday primaries. With that, the country's four biggest states will have pronounced and in all likelihood the outcomes of both parties will be known—five months before the party conventions and eight months before the election.

On the Democratic side, there is next to no response. Vice President Al Gore, political professionals agree, has as almost as unimpeachable lead after six years in the White House alongside Clinton. His prospects brighten in early February when the state, who would have given him the toughest challenge, Representative

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WORLD

Richard Gephardt of Missouri, decided last to run. Another potential Gop challenger, liberal Minnesota Senator Paul Wellstone, also chose to stay out, leaving only onetime New Jersey senator Bill Bradley actively contesting the nomination against the vice-president. (Veteran black senator Jesse Jackson and Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts may also enter the race.) All that means Gore can hardly fail to be his party's candidate—though it is much less certain he can win the White House.

The real hot fight is on the Republican side, where there is no natural heir apparent for the nomination. So far, seven candidates have announced—or sort-of-announced—that they will run. Quayle and McCain are joined by Lamar Alexander, the former Tennessee governor who sought the nomination in 1996; billionaire publisher Steve Forbes, New Hampshire Senator Bob Smith, Christian activist Gary Bauer; and Ohio congressman John Kasich. But it's the two potential candidates who have not yet made their intentions clear who are prompting most speculation. Elizabeth Dole, wife of 1996 nominee Bob Dole, is the closest to making it official. In campaign-style visits to New Hampshire and Iowa, she has urged Republicans to recognize the optimistic spirit of Ronald Reagan, whom she served as transportation secretary.

The other noncandidate who looms over the Republican field is Bush, the Texas governor and son of the former president George W., as he is known, has been leading off speculation about a presidential bid for months as he concentrated on winning reelection in Texas. He has warned publicly about the effects of seeking the White House on his family, but in January his wife, Laura, let it be known that she would support him. Bush's well-advertised brand of "compassionate conservatism" and his successful track record in Texas put him at the top of the Republican heap in polls of potential candidates. But analysts caution that such ratings mean little when candidates have not declared their assets, or even for truly said they will run.

Even less sure is the eventual presidential matchup. A *Los Angeles Times* poll showed that both Bush and Dole would beat Gore now, but almost anything could happen in the next 30 months. Republicans are still scrapping over what issues to drive from the impeachment fight—whether to switch to a different message or keep talking about "abuse" in the hope that voters may punish Gore for the scandals of the Clinton administration. One thing, though, seems sure: the candidates will find themselves forced to grapple with intrusive questions like those put to Quayle, McCain and Bush. What's less clear is whether, with the experience of the past year behind them, voters will care much about the answers. □

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The president, widely seen as a new despot who continues occupation

WORLD ZIMBABWE

Mugabe's dark days

Unrest is rising in his once-blessed African nation

BY MALCOLM GRAY

Borrowdale Brooke lies lush in the sun, a 360-hectare preserve of the good life. Zimbabwe-style, on the outskirts of the capital, Harare. Three-quarters of the land around the 18-hole course at the centre of the golfing and housing complex have been sold, including one where a threatened red mansion is nearing completion. It will be home for Nick Price, champion golfer, Zimbabwean citizen—and, as a vice president of the development, a neighbour for buyers who can pay \$250,000 for a hectare-sized plot. In Price's noblest sporting stance, sales representative Frank Munira offers that he caddied for the top-10 star. Munira's pitch includes references to Zimbabwe's good race relations—60 per cent of buyers are black. He shrugs off developers that have recently deserted Zimbabwe's home as the jewel of southern Africa. The Zimbabwean dollar's steep decline has increased the developer's attractiveness to foreign buyers, he maintains. As for worries about a deteriorating economy and social turmoil, he remains upbeat. "We'll," he says. "The nation will be far removed by an electrified security force."

Borrowdale Brooke is still believed to be a country, roughly the size of Newfoundland, that has abundant natural resources. Zimbabwe and one of the world's best climates. Almost uniquely on a continent mired in poverty and corruption, Zimbabwe's 13 million people last appeared to be succeeding in the creation of a stable, educated and fairly prosperous society. That once-blessed stage has taken a beating recently. Strikes, demonstrations and riots have swept the country during the past year as prices for tobacco, gold and other commodities earning hard currency have fallen low. The Zimbabwean dollar has lost more than half its value during the past year. An inflation has soared at least doubling the prices of fuel, food and transportation, the political judgments—and political failures—of President Robert Mugabe have been called into question under some of the sharpest criticism of his 15-year rule.

Occurring in the 75-year-old leader's widely unpopular and expensive decision, in August to evict the country in a foreign adventure. For no clear national interests, and at a budget-busting cost of more than \$1 million a day, he has sent planes, armour and 8000 soldiers to war in Congo supporting the government of Laurent Kabila against insurgents backed by Rwanda and Uganda. "We are ex-


posing ourselves to a protracted war that is stupid, unnecessary and avoidable because we are fighting for a worthless despot," says Morgan Dwinigwa, secretary general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. The Congo rebels have charged that the Zimbabwean military is simply there to protect mining investments held by Mugabe and his business cronies.

In recent weeks, Mugabe has also come under fire over the arrests of Mark Chasambuka, editor of *The Standard*, an independent weekly newspaper, and his senior reporter, Roy Choto. After their release on Jan. 20, they disclosed that they were beaten and tortured for two days by military police and security agents who wanted them to reveal their sources for a report that 23 officers and soldiers had planned a coup in December. Military officials denied the torture claims, insisting that the journalists "scratched themselves." Doctors, however, confirmed their were visible signs of abuse, including by electric shock.

In the aftermath of these revelations, Mugabe reacted angrily to a five-page letter in which three Supreme Court judges and one High Court judge asked him to publicly confirm that "the rule of law is firmly established" and that the government would not tolerate torture. Declaring that "the judiciary has no right to give instructions to the president on any matter," Mugabe said the judges should resign. They have stayed put.

Aside from such headlines, Mugabe has tried to shore up his eroding power base by promising to redistribute the rich and productive land of 800 commercial farms that are largely owned by white farmers. That pledge has been immensely popular with black former civil war combatants, who make up one of the most powerful pressure groups in the country. They have long objected to the perpetuation of a land grab that goes back more than a century to Zimbabwe's history as the white-dominated British colony of Rhodesia. Now as then, a tiny minority of white owners—less than one per cent of the population—holds more than half of the best land in the country.

The 4,600 mainly white farmers represented by the Commercial Farmers Union regard the reshuffle as a factor for stability. They say there was nothing wrong in principle with a gradual reform policy in which the government bought about 200 commercial farms that came on the market each year for redistribution. More than 70,000 black families have been settled on farmland acquired this way during the past 20 years. But one union representative, who asked to remain anonymous, says high government officials



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WORLD

and businessmen with good connections to the Mugabe regime: now over large swatches of lost land. "In many cases it's being under-used or allowed to go to waste," he adds. "Restoring some of those areas is all you diversity is going to be expensive."

Mugabe's mishandling of the issue has managed to upset almost everyone involved. Late last year, he announced that the government intended to confiscate the land first and pay for it at some unspecified future date. He even suggested that the owners seek compensation from their mother country, Britain. But the farmers had a powerful ally. Alarmed by rhetoric that threatened property rights and the rule of law, the International Monetary Fund warned it would withhold payment of \$78 million in aid unless Zimbabwe agreed to pay market prices for the registered farms. The government later pledged that it would, but the wary IMF has kept the aid on hold.

When Mugabe became independent Zimbabwe's first president, the ex-patriate and former primary school teacher was seen as a force for seeking racial harmony between blacks and whites. He also worked hard to improve schooling and health services for blacks. But now, as infrastructure deteriorates and unemployment rises, he is seen as out of touch, a near-despot who conducts corruption and lives lavishly at the centre of a privileged elite. His nephew, Leo Mugabe, is widely regarded as a conduit for the president because of the ease with which he has gathered lucrative commercial contracts, such as building a new terminal at Harare's airport. "Mugabe no longer has any shame," says Trevor Ncube, the editor of the *Zimbabwe Independent* weekly newspaper.

For the moment, though, the so-called fear of the nation remains intact: as a heavily guarded compound in one of Harare's better neighbourhoods. Even Ncube, an often outspoken enough to call for Mugabe to step down, doesn't think the president will retire before his term expires in 2002. Last year, one of Mugabe's lieutenants was suspended from the ruling ZANU (PF) party for suggesting in parliament that it was time for the president to leave the scene. Mugabe called it "rubbishness."

Opposition to his rule is growing—much as the possibility of widespread strikes, say labour sources. Yet there is no apparent mass movement to take over. Critics say Mugabe has systematically eliminated potential challengers by the means of harassment, by bringing down inside with bribery perks. Ncube and other observers say Mugabe is too aware of his place in Zimbabwe's history to let the country fall into mass disorder or even civil war. Still, an electrified security force around a plush address like Borrowdale Brooks seems like a good precaution as taxes grow more troubled.

With S. PERDUE in Harare

Automotive Marketplace

ONTARIO



Toyota's Hybrid Vehicle

By Dennis DesRosiers

I am always amused when I hear various commentaries that perpetuate the myth of the automotive industry as a low technology sector heading in the direction of the dodo bird. In fact, the

automotive sector annually spends billions of dollars on the research, design, development and testing of products. Most automotive companies require prospective employees to have a college degree to be eligible for a job. There is more technology on a new vehicle today than on the original NASA lunar lander.

One of the highest technology areas in the development of alternate fuel vehicles. Ever since the public became aware that oil is a finite resource and that some day we will run out of gasoline, interest has been steadily growing in the development of vehicles using other energy sources. Adding to this concern is the fact that combustion of oil-based fuels is a source of pollution. Even cleaner fuels such as natural gas will contribute to the greenhouse gases problem.

Consequently automotive companies have

been spending billions of dollars in the development of alternate fuel vehicles with engines or motors that do not rely on the principle of internal combustion. Yes, that is the "B" word — as in billions.

In developing these new-age vehicles, automotive companies must address three major issues on the policy agenda: the need for economically high fuel economy; the necessity of reducing emissions, ideally to zero; and safety, since consumers still need to be protected from themselves. Alternate fuel vehicles would appear to be part of the solution for at least the first two issues. The issue of safety is smaller, environmentally friendly cars is a subject suitable for an article in itself. Safety is usually achieved by adding weight to the vehicle, which works against increased fuel economy and lower emissions.

Even though there has been a tremendous research and development expenditure on alternate fuel vehicles, until recently there have been few significant breakthroughs. This is due to a number of factors.

- Technology here has been sufficiently advanced to produce an alternate fuel vehicle which could match fossil fuels in vehicle range, power and economy
- Overall performance of these vehicles has been lacking
- There is no adequately developed infrastructure in place to deliver one-fuel based alternative fuels that is equal to the distribution structure for gasoline and diesel fuel
- Consumers do not like the idea of having to plug in electrically powered vehicles for recharging in the short range of most of these vehicles
- There are too many competing alternative fuel possibilities and each one would require billions of dollars more in research, design and development — let alone the cost of deployment on infrastructure to deliver the fuel
- There are so many competing technologies that no vehicle company is willing to bet the store on any one of them since they are afraid of being wrong. Therefore all technologies are explored as if each proceeds at a snail's pace

The ultimate alternative vehicle for the automotive industry is generally considered to be a self-sufficient car powered by an electric motor with power equal to what consumers expect from an internal combustion engine. The electric motor would be powered by an on-board fuel cell in which hydrogen and oxygen combine chemically to produce the electricity to propel the car. The fuel cell would not require re-charging. With the fuel cell concept, the only by-product of the generation of power would be water. Current research and development on developing fuel-cell cars may result in prototypes of family vehicles within five or six years. Current prototypes are being used in buses. The best known initiative is the Ballard fuel cell being developed right here in Canada. Daimler and Ford have both invested millions in Ballard because the company appears to

have the technology available that might break through the current issues preventing fuel cells becoming widely available. However, an on-the-road, fuel-cell car is still a significant number of years away. Therefore the search has continued for an alternative approach until a truly mass-market fuel cell vehicle technology is developed.

To bridge this gap to the future, Toyota appears to have come up with an excellent solution in the Prius, or what is commonly called a "hybrid" car. This vehicle, which uses both a relatively small internal combustion engine run by gasoline and an electric motor, is currently on sale in Japan and is expected to be available in North America for the new millennium. Essentially, the system used for the Prius combines the convenience and power of a gasoline engine with the smoothness and cleanliness of an electric motor.

The Prius has a number of features to make it attractive both from an environmental standpoint and from the viewpoint of the consumer's transportation needs and desires. It is environmentally friendly, does NOT need to be plugged in, and has considerable power for today's North American driving needs. The application of new technology and concepts is the key to Prius' capabilities. It recently drove the Prius and was quite impressed with the technology.

The vehicle incorporates the Toyota Hybrid

System, known as THS, and has been described as the company's "pace car for the millennium." Because of the way it combines a gasoline-powered engine and an electric motor for propulsion, it does not require a new fuel distribution infrastructure.

Toyota defines the vehicle as combining "the practical advantages of a somewhat unconventional gasoline engine and an integrated electric drive system."

The Toyota Hybrid System uses a planetary gear, power-split device which provides a portion of the engine output to a generator which feeds the electrical power system. The remaining engine power is supplied directly to the mechanical drive system.

- At light loads, the battery provides energy to the electric motor for all-electric operation.
- The process is reversed during braking, with the engine powering the generator to recharge the battery.
- At medium loads, the power of the engine is split, with a portion going directly to power the vehicle and a smaller portion going to the generator for either additional drive energy or to recharge the batteries.
- At peak loads, the battery adds its energy to the electric motor for maximum performance.

Throughout all of these modes, a computer-controlled charging system maintains a constant charge in the battery. Essentially, the electric motor has enough

power to start the vehicle moving, with the gasoline engine remaining idled until sufficient speed is built up. It is at start-up that the average vehicle consumes the most gasoline and has the highest levels of pollution. Starting the vehicle moving with the electric motor eliminates these problems. When the vehicle is driven normally, the gasoline engine power is shared. On the one hand, power is directed to the wheels, and on the other hand, the gasoline engine drives the generator which provides electricity to the electric motor, which in turn adds power to the wheels when necessary. When accelerating, or on a steep hill, the batteries provide extra power by activating the electric motor, thus increasing performance as well as lowering fuel consumption and emissions.

The main components of the THS are a 1.5-L, high-efficiency gasoline engine, a permanent magnet synchronous AC electric motor, a generator which uses similar technology to the motor, a nickel metal hydride battery pack, and an electronic control system. The gasoline engine, electric motor and generator are all placed around the transmission under the hood to drive the front wheels. The battery pack is immediately behind the rear seat.

The next part is that these components can be fit into virtually any size of vehicle from a subcompact car to a small light truck. The technology is very versatile.

No pricing is available on the Prius and the exact launch date for Canada is not available. However,

Toyota executives are very enthusiastic about the technology and the market potential in Canada. I do not think anyone expects it to be a volume vehicle but if priced right it could reach 1,000 to 5,000 units pretty quickly. That would be considered a huge success and spur others to come to market with their advanced technology alternative fuel vehicles. We are on the edge of the most significant change in vehicle technology in a century. I am excited!

Toyota Prius



Toyota Prius



MOST FUEL-EFFICIENT

VEHICLES FOR 1999

Cars Small

Volkswagen New Beetle TDI Diesel

Engine: 1.9 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 5.6 L/100 km
(50 mpg), Hwy 4.4 L/100 km (64 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$557
Annual Fuel Use: 1012 L



Chevrolet Metro/Pontiac Firefly

Engine: 1.0 L, 3 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 6.0 L/100 km
(47 mpg), Hwy 4.5 L/100 km (63 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$618
Annual Fuel Use: 1065 L



Compact

Volkswagen New Golf TDI Diesel & New Jetta TDI Diesel

Engine: 1.9 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 5.6 L/100 km
(50 mpg), Hwy 4.4 L/100 km (64 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$557
Annual Fuel Use: 1012 L



Toyota Corolla

Engine: 1.8 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 7.7 L/100 km
(37 mpg), Hwy 5.8 L/100 km (49 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$796
Annual Fuel Use: 1369 L



Mid-size

Mercedes-Benz E300 Turbodiesel

Engine: 3.0 L, 6 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, automatic
Fuel Consumption: City 8.9 L/100 km
(32 mpg), Hwy 6.1 L/100 km (46 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$843
Annual Fuel Use: 1528 L



Mazda 626

Engine: 2.0 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 9.0 L/100 km
(31 mpg), Hwy 6.4 L/100 km (43 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$919
Annual Fuel Use: 1584 L



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VEHICLES FOR 1999

Fall Size

Chrysler Concorde & Intrepid

Engine: 2.7 L, 6 cylinders
Transmission: 4 speeds, automatic
Fuel Consumption: City 11.3 L/100 km
(25 mpg), Hwy 7.2 L/100 km (30 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$1097
Annual Fuel Use: 1891 L



Station Wagon

Suzuki Esteem Wagon

Engine: 1.6 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 7.9 L/100 km
(36 mpg), Hwy 5.9 L/100 km (46 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$812
Annual Fuel Use: 1400 L



Vans

Dodge Caravan & Grand Caravan Plymouth Voyager & Grand Voyager

Engine: 3.0 L, 6 cylinders
Transmission: 4 speeds, automatic
Fuel Consumption: City 12.7 L/100 km
(22 mpg), Hwy 8.3 L/100 km (34 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$1244
Annual Fuel Use: 2144 L



Pickup Trucks

Chevrolet S10 GMC S15 Sonoma Isuzu Hombre

Engine: 2.2 L,
4 cylinders
Transmission:
5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption:
City 10.8 L/100 km
(26 mpg), Hwy 7.4 L/100 km (38 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$1075, Annual Fuel Use: 1854 L



Special Purpose

Chevrolet Tracker Convertible 4x4 Suzuki Vitara 2-door

Engine: 1.6 L, 4 cylinders
Transmission: 5 speeds, manual
Fuel Consumption: City 9.2 L/100 km
(31 mpg), Hwy 7.6 L/100 km (37 mpg)
Annual Fuel Cost: \$986
Annual Fuel Use: 1696 L



Canada



Gordon Wilson

Beware of Third Party Claims ESPECIALLY LEASING VEHICLES

Consumers who are considering leasing a new car or van from a third party should be wary of claims that they can get great savings, compared to deals offered by new car dealerships, says Gordon C. Wilson, Vice-President and General Manager of Wilson Niblett Motors Limited of Richmond Hill, Ont. "Wilson, who is a past president of the Toronto Automobile Dealers

Association (TADA), recommends that if you get a quote from an outside leasing company to take it to a couple of dealers.

"I am sure they will be able to match any offer from a leasing firm, particularly since leasing firms must first purchase their new cars from a dealer," says Wilson.

"An independent leasing company's purchase price still includes a markup,

the amount of which depends on the number of vehicles they buy from a dealer. In most cases, the consumer would benefit from dealing directly with the dealer and eliminating the middle man."

Wilson says the new car dealer industry is confused about ads from some leasing firms, which claim to offer savings in the range of up to \$2,000 per vehicle or \$50 to \$60 per month

"It just isn't so. In fact, TADA recently compared those so-called claims of huge savings of one major leasing firm, which was advertising on the Internet and found that in almost every instance the price offered by the dealer on every make and model were more competitive than those being advertised by the particular leasing firm."

He adds, "While the Internet is a useful tool to obtain information, it cannot replace the benefits of face-to-face dealings in a showrooms environment, where you can get firsthand comparisons on the vehicle, its options and price. For example, automobile dealers and their product representatives have the expertise and direct technological back-up to the manufacturers to obtain the latest product features and benefits."

He says it is also important for consumers to realize that leasing companies cannot tell how cars. They are in business to lease them and are unable to provide the wide range of financing options that a dealer can.

"When it comes to financing, the dealer has access to factory leasing rates, which in many instances is far better than what you can get from bank borrowing rates. Most independent leasing companies do not have the same access to the low-cost financing."

He points out that one of these leasing companies openly admitted in a recent article that "leaving through us is the same as going through a dealer — the markup is identical."

He says it appears young people are taken in by such comments as "Because we don't have the same overhead costs as dealers, we can save

you thousands of dollars." The fact is, Wilson says, dealers are more competitive because they are the source of the vehicle — the leasing companies have to purchase the car from the dealer.

"So, how can a leasing company compete with the dealerships?"

Wilson also points out that dealers have the facility to provide service and warranties, something the leasing companies have no direct ability to provide. "Therefore dealers offer a higher level of comfort to customers who have purchased or leased a vehicle from them."

In addition, he says, "consumers must be wary of firms requesting that clients sign a document not to disclose the leasing price. The best advice is to check it out with two or three dealers. In almost every case, the new car dealer will be competitive."



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As a result, Chrysler continued to introduce virtually every important innovation in the industry like dual air bags, dual sliding doors and built-in child safety seats. All at a price that the average Canadian family could afford.

Maybe that's why Carade Magazine just named the 1999 Chrysler its "Best Buy in a Minivan" for the third year in a row. What's next? Chrysler is celebrating 15 years as Canada's favourite minivan by introducing a special edition 15th Anniversary Platinum Series Minivan. It comes with over 28 standard features, plus 15th Anniversary extras like sunscreen glass and Platinum Finish. Do you believe it magic? You can see it now at your neighbourhood Chrysler retailer. In the showroom, of course.

For more information on Chrysler minivans, please call 1 800 361 3700.
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THE RETAIL REVOLUTION

Shoppers are shaking up the market, and Wal-Mart is winning

BY JOHN SCHOFIELD

Twin Potter is doing his "daytime in the mall thing." Today's stop is sprawling, new Wal-Mart store in the Toronto district of Scarborough. After a quick stop for some educational videos, Potter, a retired teacher and single father of three young boys, makes a beeline for the kids' clothing section. It is a familiar territory by now. Once in a blue moon, twin Potters he heads to Eaton's or the Bay where his son-year-old and twin four-year-olds need something new. But by and large, it's Wal-Mart's he goes to. "I'm a price buyer," says Potter, 53. "And I guess I do find the prices here to be a couple of dollars less than other places."

Behind the language, a revolution is raging in department store retailing—middle-price line. Twin Potter are the reason. Consumers who grew up at Eaton's and the Bay have been transfixed into super shoppers obsessed with stretching their dollars. Department stores are being forced to reinvent themselves or face the consequences. The most obvious example of the new reality is the hard luck of Eaton's. Once the undisputed ruler of Canadian retailing, Eaton's last year accounted for only 7.3 per cent of \$17.3 billion in total department store sales. Last week, it announced plans to decentralize management and to cut 300 administrative positions—a move that caused its shares to plunge, closing at an all-time low last Friday at \$3.78.

In the new retail reality, the biggest winner has been Wal-Mart Canada Inc. of Mississauga, Ont. Over five years at its Bensenville, Ill., based parent bought Woolco's chain of 150 discount stores, Wal-Mart Canada has scored a whopping 38 per cent of department store sales. The company's multipoint efficiency has forced its Canadian competitors to change their often antiquated ways. Some players, such as Toronto-based Sears Canada Inc., have flourished in the cutthroat climate. "There's a warlike attitude," says Toronto-based retail consultant Wendy Evans. "Wal-Mart has acted as a catalyst to speed up the whole evolution of the Canadian retail industry."

Even with fewer than half the locations of its closest competitor, Zellers Inc. of Brampton, Ont., Wal-Mart Canada led its rivals with an estimated \$5.2 billion in sales last year, up from \$2 billion when it took over Hudson's in 1994. Zellers, a division of the Hudson's Bay Co., North America's oldest retailer, rang up a healthy \$4.6 billion in revenues in 1998, accounting for about 38 per cent of the market.



Sears-Canada followed with 19.4 per cent, while the Bay, also owned by the Hudson's Bay Co., captured 15.1 per cent.

Some observers say the full force of Wal-Mart's impact is only beginning to be felt. The 123-store chain plans to roll out 17 new ones this year across the country this year and its release another eight. A study released last fall by American Polytechnic University's Center for the Study of Commercial Activity estimates that Wal-Mart's annual sales in Canada could double to \$11 billion over the next five to 15 years with the addition of 80 stores, which would still put it well below Zellers' total of 314. "We will have significant growth over the next few years," says Dave Ferguson, Wal-Mart Canada's U.S.-born president and chief executive officer. "I think when it makes sense to have a Wal-Mart, ultimately we'll have one."

Wal-Mart's arrival in early 1994 could not have been better timed. Canada was already three years into its worst economic slump since the 1930s and Canadians were feeling the pinch of eroding disposable incomes and mounting personal debts. Retailers were still reeling from the Goods and Services Tax, which Ottawa introduced in 1991. "The retailers were really on the ropes because consumers were so depressed," says Les Kulas, a Toronto retail consultant. Shoppers "were negative at the time to a Wal-Mart message, which is everyday low prices."

Ferguson says there is not much point in competing with Wal-Mart on price alone. "The competitors have had to think about what else

they can do to gain competitive advantage," he says. For Zellers, that has meant moving slightly upscale by offering better quality merchandise at an affordable price. Its line of Martha Stewart linens and housewares, launched with great fanfare last year, is an indication of where the chain is going. Analysts say the strategy is modified after Target stores, a U.S. chain that has successfully competed against Wal-Mart by shaking a rung or two up the bargain ladder. Zellers kicked off an ambitious expansion plan last year that will see many stores grow from an average of 75,000 square feet to between 90,000 and 135,000 square feet, closer to the size of a Wal-Mart outlet. It is a two-pronged approach. Zellers is also opening a series of smaller Best Value stores that offer low prices.

Eaton's has cast its future as fashion store emerging from bankruptcy protection in late 1997 in an appeal to the high-end market, the venerable chain has under its wings with profitable designer apparel and has dumped electronics, furniture and appliances. But the strategy has proved no quick fix. Eaton's has revised its expected earnings for 1999 downward three times in the past eight months, blaming lower-than-expected sales, inventory snags and steep discounting. Analysts say Eaton's has not been helped by the fact that the Bay, its closest competitor, has been following a similar division strategy for longer. The Bay, too, is altering its methods of merchandising. Last year, it opened a Best, Best and More outlet in Newmarket, Ont., and a Hudson's Bay Co. Outfitters store in downtown Toronto, which sells casual clothing and home decor.

But the Bay's repositioning process has also been longer. Last month, the chain hired a marketing consultant to revamp its image, and announced that it might change its name to HBC. The company dropped the idea after it was

EATON'S: GRIST FOR THE RUMOUR MILL

They came cascading through the air like the autumn leaves last September: rumours of Eaton's impending sale. And as profits at the once-mighty retailer headed ever downward, the gossip just seemed to fly faster. It took on a new intensity last week when Toronto-based T. Eaton Co. Ltd. announced plans to cut 200 administrative jobs, or about a third of its corporate support staff, and to reorganize into five regional divisions. The news came only days after Eaton's said it expects its losses in 1998 to be significantly higher than the \$29 million it predicted in December. This was the third straight forecast since June, when the troubled department store chain called for a \$58-million profit for the year. Eaton's president, Brett Ballantine, refused to comment on the scuttlebutt. "These rumours have been circulating since the 1920s," he said. "The province seems to be wonderful—it never stops."

Not so wonderful, though, when the share price has lost about two-thirds of its value. Moreover, a Toronto-based retail consultant with the J.C. Williams Group says Eaton's embattled shareholders would have nothing more than to see the chain sold at once a major premium on their stock. The problem, she says, is no one wants to buy.

Concerned-based Federated Department Stores Inc., which owns the U.S. chains Macy's and Bloomingdale's, is still considered a potential suitor, despite its \$2.5-billion takeover in early February of Fingerprint Cos. Inc. of Minneapolis, a leading U.S. catalogue and Internet retailer. Hudson's Bay Co. and Sears Canada



Inc. are also believed to be interested in specific Eaton's locations. But no one is expected to bid unless Eaton's terms its costs. Ballantine must be close to having no plans to closing Eaton's locations. Eaton's says 64 stores, and that customers are responding to Eaton's move into upscale Britain.

"We're quite happy with our situation," he says. This quarter, says how long investors are willing to wait for a turnaround.

Analysts are closing planned

BUSINESS

widely pursued. The flip-flop came just days after shares in parent Wal-Mart's Bay Co. hit a 20-year low on news of weak Christmas sales, due in part to the Bay's costly discounting war with Eaton's.

The most successful relocation to date has been executed by Paul Walens, the 49-year-old chairman and CEO of Sears Canada. The enigmatic name of Edmonstone had his work cut out far from when he was hired away from Bell's in late 1996. The 109-store Sears chain, which is 55-per-cent owned by Chicago-based Sears, Roebuck & Co., had seen sales drop to \$3.9 billion in 1996 from \$4.6 billion in 1995, and had cut its staff by 28 per cent. "We essentially made no money throughout that period," says the retail veteran. "It got pretty bad."

Walens made the radical decision to invest his way out of the slump. Spending on store improvements and expansion was quadrupled in 1997 to \$100 million, and a similar amount was allocated last year. Partners were asked to separate home-furnishings stores, which now number 21, and furniture (the department). The company also stepped up its advertising and expanded its catalogue business. In the two years since, Walens took the helm, Sears has posted record profits and its market share has risen to 19.4 per cent last year from 18.7 per cent in 1996.

In a Wal-Mart world, Walens says retailers stand or fall on customer knowledge. To that end, Sears conducts frequent focus groups and surveys. The company's upsize credit card, which is used for 64 per cent of transactions, also gives Sears insights into customer behaviour—and a leg up on Wal-Mart Canada, which does not have its own store card. "This business is not rocket science—it's a question of understanding what your customer is," says Walens. "I think Wal-Mart is just another example of a company that is more focused on its customers."

Good customer service is an essential part of Wal-Mart's credo, but the real key to the company's success as a sophisticated ability to strip costs out of the entire supply chain. Founder Sam Walton turned cooking into a lifelong obsession, and that need is still in the company's DNA. Wal-Mart's way. The company's distribution system is regarded as the most efficient in the world. Wal-Mart tracks virtually every item, from point of shipping until the time it leaves the store, using Wal-Mart Retail Link, a computer system that cost the company billions of dollars to develop. Many suppliers are also connected to the system, and information is transmitted through the company's own website.

It is the strength of low prices, in addition to low prices, that gives Wal-Mart Canada the highest stock turnover rate of any department store. But suppliers must meet tight requirements. Deliveries to Wal-Mart distribution centres can only be made within a 15- to 20-minute window of opportunity and suppliers who consistently miss shipments can face fines. With 3,600 stores worldwide, Wal-Mart uses its enormous buying power to squeeze price concessions from suppliers. While the average profit margin in a Wal-Mart Canada store runs about 32 per cent, shelf prices on high-turnover items are sometimes as low as other retailers might pay wholesale. "Wal-Mart



Retail management students on tour at the Hudson's Bay Co. Outlets in Toronto trying new trucks.

is a very powerful company," says a Toronto consultant whose clients include some Wal-Mart suppliers. "It's such a big account that you'd do anything to please them."

In some cases that means shilling products to where to take advantage of cheap labour, according to a recent book chronicling Wal-Mart's business practices. As recently as January, notes Bob Olenko, the author of *In Sam We Trust: The Untold Story of Sam Walton and How Wal-Mart Is Destroying America*, Wal-Mart Stores Inc. and other hedge-fund retailers, including The Gap and Sears, were named in three U.S. lawsuits alleging that garment contractors that were retained by the companies in Saigon employed indentured labour. Despite a written code of conduct designed to prevent such abuses, similar allegations continue to surface, Olenko says.

Wal-Mart's relentless drive to cut costs has also been blamed for its staunch opposition to unions. The chain's Washou, Ont., outlet has the distinction of being the only Wal-Mart store in the world with a union. Thom Collier, an official with the United Steelworkers of America who worked to organize the store, says the company is trying to force it to give up the union, while Wal-Mart Canada steadfastly denies that claim.

From a business perspective, however, analysts contend that Wal-Mart's arrival in Canada has made department stores more competitive. Going up against the Bay's arrival, which has required a significant leap in sophistication. "We're in the race with the best," says Ken Jones, the director of Research Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity. "It's been the winner of Canadian retailing." Wal-Mart's success has forced competitors to take retail more seriously. Discount-based retail management programs, long a staple of U.S. and European business schools, have only been available in Canada in the past year, notes Stephen Arnold, a marketing professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., who has studied Wal-Mart extensively. "Traditionally in Canada, if you couldn't do anything else, you went into retail," says Arnold. "Canadian retailers just don't have the training and experience to compete with the best in the world."

They're learning fast, as the success of Sears and Bell's demonstrates. But Wal-Mart, analysts say, is determined to dominate the department store sector for as long as it can in the past. The gloves are off for good, and the gentlemen days of the Bay versus Eaton's are fading into memory. □

A CHANGE IN FORTUNES

In just four years, Wal-Mart has doubled its share of the department store market, while Eaton's share has been almost halved.



SOURCE: DATA ON FILE WITH THE CANADIAN STATISTICS SERVICE



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Denison, after a slump

BUSINESS

Hitting its stride

Fidelity surges amid an industry-wide slump

BY ROSS LAVER

The world's largest mutual fund company had high hopes when it merged into Canada 12 years ago, but its tiring left much to be desired. By cruel coincidence, the first day of business for Fidelity Investments Canada Ltd. was Oct. 19, 1985—known to investors as Black Monday, the day stock markets around the world suffered their biggest one-day drop in history. The next few years were tough sledding for Canada's mutual fund industry, leading some executives at Fidelity's U.S. parent company to wonder whether the Toronto-based operation was worth the effort and expense. "For a while, the whole venture into Denison was being questioned," says David Demson, the current president of the Canadian subsidiary. How times have changed. These days, Fidelity is by a significant margin, the dis-

tinging major fund company in Canada. Little more than a year ago it was in eighth place in terms of assets. Today, with \$19.6 billion of investors' money under management, it is No. 5, and rapidly closing in on fourth-place Translink Investment Management Inc. In January alone, Fidelity Canada reported net sales of \$444 million, 51 per cent more than in the same month a year earlier. The growth was all the more remarkable considering that the fund industry as a whole is in the throes of a slump. In Q3 1997, however, with sales last month down 30 per cent year-over-year, according to figures released last week by the Investment Funds Institute of Canada.

In an industry where momentum is key, Fidelity's long-standing target of becoming the largest mutual fund company in Canada no longer provides widespread stickers among its competitors. Some of Denison's fiercest rivals—including Translink, Temple-

ton Management Ltd. and Dynamic Mutual Funds, all of Toronto—have suffered net redemptions in recent months, as jittery investors look elsewhere for better returns. Meanwhile, Fidelity's share of the country's mutual fund assets continues to increase. It now stands at 30.6 per cent, up from 4.2 per cent at the end of 1987. "In the past, when the equity sector was booming, entry one could be a winner," says one veteran industry analyst, who asked not to be named. "Today, it's much more of a zero-sum game. If Fidelity gains a dollar of sales, chances are it's out of somebody else's hole."

Demson, a 46-year-old Montreal native who took over as president of Fidelity Canada last April, can point to a number of reasons for the company's recent success. At a time when savvy investors have grown disappointed with Canadian stock market returns and are looking to increase their foreign holdings, Fidelity boasts two of the industry's best-selling international funds, the Fidelity International Portfolio Fund and the Fidelity Global Asset Allocation Fund. In fact, so that Fidelity is one of the most recognizable brands in the business, backed up by a pronounced television advertising campaign—a rarity in the Canadian mutual fund industry. "Our goal has been to create strong brand awareness among con-

sumers," Demson says. "It isn't a four-month-a-year exercise with us."

Marketing, in fact, has always been a strong suit of Fidelity Canada's parent, Fidelity Management & Research Co. of Boston. A secretive, family-owned company that has dominated the U.S. fund industry since the 1970s, Fidelity amassed its current wealth and power "by the simple expedient of treating fund investors not as shareholders asking an investment, but as shoppers buying a product," says Diana Herzig, a New York Times journalist and author of a 1995 book about the company. Ned Johnson, Fidelity's chairman and the son of its founder, calls mutual funds, as they are known in the U.S., "the Madison Avenue sold commodities." Herzig adds: "The result is a company that today manages more than \$1.25 trillion worldwide—50 per cent greater than Canada's—annual gross domestic product—executes an average of 30,000 stock trades a day and owes five per cent or more of its total 700 jobs to companies."

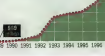
Still all this strength, Fidelity stumbled when a first-up shop—Canada, The 1987 crash, which

left that Canadian investors were looking for the same sorts of investment products as their American counterparts. As a result, a devastated investor base for a while fled from Canadian stock and bond funds—the bread and butter components of many investors' retirement savings plans. "To be honest, Fidelity operated initially as a foreign organization in the Canadian marketplace," Demson says. "We've matured since then as a global organization. We've said, 'What a route—this approach is fine, but if you do that you'll always be a niche player in the domestic marketplace.'" Rob Bell, a veteran industry executive who now runs BellCharts Inc., a Toronto-based fund rating firm, puts

HIGH FIDELITY

Mutual fund assets managed by Fidelity Investments Canada Ltd.

(in billions, as of year-end)



it along and encouraging early defectors during all-expenses-paid trips to Fidelity headquarters in Boston. (The practice ended two years ago when the industry brought in a new code prohibiting fund companies from rewarding distributors with free flights and hotel accommodations.) In 1989, Fidelity also broke with tradition by raising its sales commission rate to 4.5 per cent from four per cent, gross financial aid means an additional incentive to recruit new products. Fidelity's growth had little choice but to follow suit.

Along with those changes, Fidelity Canada has launched 16 new domestic and foreign funds in the past five years, bringing the total to 26. In addition to strengthening its Canadian lineup, the company is designed to provide one-stop shopping for fund-fund and individual investors. "Increasingly, we're finding that distributors want to deal with fewer manufacturers," Demson says. "It's tough for anyone to follow 1,200 mutual funds, so I think there's natural inclination to want to do business with fewer providers and deepen that relationship. We see that as a real opportunity for us."

Demson, a former high school math teacher and volleyball coach who landed his financial career as a Price Waterhouse auditor in the early 1980s, is Fidelity Canada's fourth Canadian-born president, the

product of a corporate culture that emphasizes the hunting and promotion of local talent. One predecessor, Steve Scott, says Kevin Kelly, now runs Fidelity Investments Canada's Boston office, "is a former student of mine." A possible question that distribution Fidelity products to U.S. insurers, banks and institutional investors? But behind that Canadian line, Fidelity remains a thoroughly American juggernaut. The 25 portfolio managers and 15 researchers assigned to the company's Canadian fund line are all based in Boston, leaving the Canadian operation free to focus on sales and marketing. The company, the internal e-mail network, even the security system in Fidelity's Toronto office are connected 24 hours a day to the company's U.S. headquarters.

It all adds up to a powerful and maneuverable fund-fund machine, one that successfully is keeping Fidelity's Canadian competitors awake at night. As Demson himself points out, the parent company is, in terms of assets, larger than all five of Canada's biggest banks put together, and almost four times greater than the country's entire fund industry. Demson says it is hard to say his company is growing faster than any of its domestic rivals, but when the showdown finally comes there will be no doubt about the winner. □

RANKING FUNDS

Canada's five largest mutual fund competitors (assets in billions*)

Investors Group	\$35.4
Royal Mutual Funds	29.1
Monetary Financial	26.1
Translink Investment	23.9
Fidelity Investments Canada	19.6

*As of Mar. 31, 1998

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Drabinsky: a small court victory and an ugly picture of life at the theatre company

BUSINESS

An epic from Livent

Executive accuses Drabinsky of bullying ways

It was a simple motion in a small Toronto civil court. Yet the room was full of nervous waiting to hear David Roebuck appear on behalf of his client, theatre impresario Garth Drabinsky, that Livent Inc. be ordered to produce documents and to strike certain paragraphs from its \$225-million lawsuit against the theatre company's founder. "They have not come to report us this particular," Roebuck said to Justice Robert Blair referring to his audience. "They are here because that affidavit is still in your possession and said it leaves the court they can't get it out."

The document in question is the 40-page statement written by Robert Webster, Livent's executive vice president since July and the man who oversees a full review of the company's financial records. In the affidavit, Webster chronicles allegations of widespread fraud at Livent, including \$1.5 million in back-bucks to Drabinsky and Livent co-founders Myron Gutnick and the keeping of two sets of financial books. Drabinsky and Gutnick have denied such allegations and they have

not been proved in court. But what really grabbed attention last week was Webster's portrayal of a brutish working environment at Livent—a climate he alleges tricked executives who screamed and swore at staff and employees who were reduced to tears.

Webster, who joined Livent after it was taken over by the American investment firm led by Hollywood agent Michael Dittz, contends that mistreatment manifested with the company's founder. "I had never before experienced anyone with Drabinsky's abusive and profane management style," Webster says the former chief executive officer embroiled in approving numbers before they were given to Webster and accused him of leaving the company apart with his financial inquiries. "[Drabinsky] and that any work was of no use to him and that any role at Livent was, in his view, 'to service his requirements.' He said he considered me to be lying in that capacity and if I wasn't in a corner and jerk off instead of serving his needs, he would have to take action."

Webster's account is part of a nine-volume, 1,500-page document filed in Ontario court on Feb. 12 as part of Livent's lawsuit. It is called from 100,000 pages of evidence that Livent's new management gathered during an investigation that led the company to restate its finances. It is also based on letters given by six former Livent employees, including former senior vice president Gordon Eckstein and Maria Messina, the former chief financial officer.

If Webster is to be believed, bullying and abuse were standard fare at Livent. He cites one case of an accounting employee leaving a meeting in tears, while another left distressed by the tension. He says the accounting staff "were repeatedly told to 'shit up and do what they were told.'" Those who did not adhere to these demands were reprimanded. Webster says Messina was "shaking like a leaf" the day after she left a memo for Drabinsky and Gutnick saying she could not support the numbers for Livent's first quarter of 1998.

Gutnick, meanwhile, filed suit last week against Messina, Eckstein and Livent's former accounting staff. He says he relied on those employees for accurate financial records and that he is not an "expert in accounting practices." Both Gutnick and Drabinsky face a series of fraud-related charges in the United States, and U.S. authorities are seeking extradition, a process that could drag through the Canadian courts for years. To respond to the charges in Livent's civil case, Gutnick filed a statement of defence on Jan. 30 and Drabinsky is expected to do the same shortly.

During last week's court appearance as that case, Roebuck questioned Livent's use of "generic terms such as 'abusive act of leaders'." He said that in a trial, "I might say 'yes, these other documents were not filed, but you have misused the purpose of this document. It is that is the crime. This is not to know what he means by second set of books.'" In addition, Roebuck charged that the 1,500 pages that Livent filed lacked relevance and were a misuse of court authority. "Was it necessary," he asked the judge, "to state that Mr. Drabinsky told Mr. Webster to sit in a corner and do something that would cause Mr. Webster to go blind if done repeatedly?"

But did not gut Roebuck's bill to inspect all 140,000 documents, but did strike some damaging phrases from the statement of claim against Drabinsky. Blair agreed that the Livent opens was "overstated and unnecessary," and placed Drabinsky's attacks against Drabinsky into the public realm.

In addition, the judge ordered Livent to pay Drabinsky \$1,500, saying its "voluntary motion record" had cost the embroiled theatre impresario the additional expense of another day in court. That may be the first cost Drabinsky has received from the company he founded in 1986 when he was suspended without pay in August.

ANDREW CLARK



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Surfing for the best bet

Charles Klein is staring intently at a brightly coloured screen, peering feverishly at the keyboard in front of him. It looks like he's playing an sophisticated video game—but that, once more again, is precisely the case. Klein, 37, is a day-trader. And in this game, thousands of dollars often ride on every keystroke.

Day-traders are the talk of Bay Street and, some say, its scourge. At a time when equity markets are increasingly volatile, many veterans at the street claim these so-called speculators exacerbate the problem. Whether or not that's true, there's no doubt that day-traders are rocking the investment industry's cozy status quo, by circumventing traditional brokers and their fee structures and trading directly on their own accounts.

Rather than relying on such established tools as fundamental or technical analysis, day-traders buy and sell stocks by the second. If a stock is moving forward aggressively, they jump on the bandwagon. At the first signal of decline they bail out. They sometimes don't even bother to learn the full name of the company they are trading—let alone its business.

The NASDAQ exchange is the day trader's preferred venue, because its high tech stocks usually have the broadest price ranges and the heaviest volumes. Some day-traders use the apperage to get up to 80 per cent of all NASDAQ trades from the bid-directed electronic accounts of online Internet and day traders. But by the time the market closes every day, most of them have completely liquidated their portfolios. "I like to sleep soundly at night, so I always close out," says Klein. "It's best to start fresh every morning."

The merit of a fresh start, and the discipline to accept and realize any market reversals, are just some of the lessons that Peter Beck struggles to teach aspiring day traders in a six-week course run by his firm, Swift Trade Securities Inc. He and partner Joseph Smith, now vice-president, started Swift Trade just six days ago in 1997. Today, Klein and about 50 others work from Swift Trade's quasi-industrial space in downtown Toronto. They typically trade

blocks of 1,000 shares, paying Beck a commission of two and a half cents a share or \$25 per trade.

Day-traders come from all walks of life. According to Beck, his regular roster of clients ranges from burnt-out surgeons to former stock brokers and refinery. They all spent their own money, a minimum stake of \$25,000 (U.S.) is required. The only thing they all have in common is that they are graduates of Swift Trade's \$250,000 training program. These seminars introduce traders to the complex software. But even so, Beck says the most common and costly errors made by novice investors are technical ones. For this reason, they start by trading 100 shares at a time, gradually increasing to 1,000 shares. By the time that level is reached and they are trading for their own account, the fee for the course is refunded.

Beck has plans to open eight other sites in cities across Canada. Already he is facing some competition. Eaffery Harwood and Partners Ltd., has started a day trading office in Montreal. But despite the surge in popularity, Beck cautions that day trading is a highly risky occupation, not a surefire way to make any money. That's a sentiment often because American securities regulators have found that only about 10 per cent of day traders are making money.

That number may be even lower for the growing ranks of investors trading on the Internet. There are more than seven million online trading accounts in the United States and more than 100 cyber brokers on the Web. Unlike day-traders, however, many on-line investors focus on more than just stock movements. They gather information from corporate Web sites, keep an eye on business specialty channels such as CNBC, browse through investment chat rooms and scour e-mail newsletters.

Not surprisingly, traditional, full-service brokers are not happy with the proliferation of upstart competitors—or the pressure on their fees. But Beck insists that his traders are no threat to the securities industry establishment. "Our side would never use traditional brokers anyway," he says. "We just buy and sell. We don't invest."

Business NOTES

TAKING CHARGE

Pierre Karl Piloteau, son of Quebecor Inc. founder Pierre Piloteau, was named president and chief executive of the printing, media and technology giant. Piloteau, 37, replaces Jean Nadeau, who assumed the president's job after Pierre Piloteau died in 1990. Montreal-based Quebecor, which owns 50.4 billion in annual sales, is now expected to begin cutting costs.

HIGH-TECH JITTERS

Anxiety over high-technology shares dragged down a number of stock markets. Dell Computer led the drop after reporting disappointing sales, losing as much as eight per cent of its share value on the Nasdaq exchange. In other high tech news, Japan's biggest mobile phone maker, NEC Corp., announced plans to cut 15,000 jobs (about 10 per cent of its worldwide workforce) over three years because of poor sales. NEC expects to lose up to \$1.85 billion this year.

SUING OVER SOFTWOOD

Pope & Talbot of Portland, Ore., is suing Citicorp over the North American Free Trade Agreement. The company, which owned \$45 million in damages, says Canada's softwood-lumber deal with the United States discriminates against the company because it applies to only four provinces. Pope & Talbot operates a British Columbia, where export quotas are in force.

LAST RITES?

Shares of the struggling Lovers Group Inc. plunged its heavy trading after Standard & Poor's downgraded the credit rating on the Toronto, O.-based lender last week. The company's stock price fell 10 per cent in New York, where it hit an 11-year low of \$2 (U.S.)—a stark contrast to an all-time high of more than \$42 in 1996.

IN FASHION

Shares of fashion retailer Club Monaco Inc. soared to a gain on the Toronto stock market after the company disclosed its earnings for the possible merger. The clothing firm did not identify its possible partner, but reports have said others include such U.S. retailers as Victoria, Ralph Lauren Corp., and Limited Inc. Club Monaco operates and franchises 135 stores in Canada, the United States and Asia.

Smooth landing

Boonboarder Inc. continued an aggressive string of record-breaking sales for its Canair Regional jet, landing covered Northwest Airlines Inc. at Logan, Mass., in a \$1.5-billion deal. Under the agreement, Northwest will buy 50 CRJ-190s equipped to seat 50 passengers, with an option to purchase up to 70 more. The contract pushed orders for the six-year-old jets to over 1,000 units, and is the biggest of four recent selling deals since the beginning of the Mayfield-based firm. With Northwest, Boonboarder has taken the "majority of large carriers from American Airlines to Delta," a company spokeswoman said.

The Northwest sale was a major victory for Boonboarder and its new president, chief of executive Robert Brown because it beat out rival jet Express Embraer de Aeronaves, also known as Embraer of Brazil, which built the 50-seat EMB-145 jet. While Boonboarder supplies most major U.S. carriers, Embraer has sold its low expensive jet to Continental Airlines and American Airlines. The CRJ is both larger and has better range than the EMB-145.

However, in an interview just last week, the World Trade Organization said that since Canadian subsidy programs had been supported by Boonboarder's work is illegal. It also criticized Canadian subsidy policies. Both companies had taken complaints about each other's business practices to the WTO.

Managing the future

The Toronto Dominion Bank and Baeys Global Investors Canada Ltd. are the new managers of the \$25.6 billion in the Canada Pension Plan. The finance department will relinquish control of the fund in March 31, which will now go to CPP investors in a private trust that is expected to be worth up to \$80 billion by 2006. That was not the only good news for the TD, which reported a record first-quarter profit of \$113 million. The report came one week after the company's earnings rose to a doubling of income from TD's wealth management services, including Green Line Investor Services and its U.S. subsidiary at Waterhouse Securities Inc. "We are clicking on most cylinders," said TD chairman Charles Baulle.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Business analysts gave Finance Minister Paul Martin's budget strategy for 1997-98 a thumbs up, but some are skeptical about the government's plan to cut GDP, reducing it to 12 per cent in 2000-2001 from 12.6 per cent in 1996-1999.

MONEY OWED

Top government debt as a percentage of GDP among G-7 countries for 1996



"This budget still does not contain a simple plan to unambiguously debt reduction in any form, past financial markets are not going to be surprised, but Canada remains extremely vulnerable."

—Business Council on National Issues

"In 1995, our debt-to-GDP ratio was 72.1 per cent. Today, it's roughly 65.3 per cent. By the year 2001, we should bring it down below 60 per cent. That pace is the fastest among the industrial countries."

—Standard and Poor's MMS



COVERED UP:

Workers in New York City's Times Square paper cover a Calvin Klein advertisement after the fashion designer facing heavy criticism, cancelled the campaign for a new line of children's underwear. Conservative groups said the poster of two young boys on a couch—more in British, the other is homosexual pornography and would appeal to pedophiles.



Peter C. Newman

A pedestrian budget from a revolutionary

How long have we suffered finance ministers whose main concern was to trick us into believing that the nation's business was in good hands? During the quarter of a century that Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney ruled this country, federal finance was a sub-bench of politics. The national budget was little more than a bill of sale, designed to deliver votes to Ottawa's accountants.

A long chain gang of finance ministers—John Turner, Donald Macdonald, Jean Chrétien, John Crosbie, Allan Rock, Marc Lalonde, Michael Wilson and Don Mazankowski—found themselves shackled to spending promises set by the politics of opinion. They embraced their principles, threw out accepted operating practices, ignored the demands of successive auditors general, and produced budget speeches whose fiscal messages were so distorted by partisan imperatives that none of their projections ever came true.

Canada's budgetary deficits ballooned like overripe watermelon. In the 16 years he held power, Pierre Trudeau's wild spending habits moved the national debt from \$13 billion to \$200 billion—and no one could recall, even at the time, what we got for all that extravagant spending except a painted Constitution that has caused trouble ever since. During the rare Mulroney years that followed, the national debt continued to grow at an alarming rate. What can you get for the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords that weren't worth the paper they were drafted on?

The only reason this style of extravagant spending stopped under Jean Chrétien was not that he wasn't willing to bribe Canadians with their own money, but that Ottawa had run out of cash and began to beg for it. In 1986, we were seriously close to placing a hidden phone call to the International Monetary Fund—Canada was bankrupt. Saved by the reluctance of our creditors to grab their collateral—what do you do with a sub-trillion dollar that has no indigenous cash and pays serious attention to Doe Cherry?—we staggered on.

Then came Paul Martin. Alone among the rogues' gallery of recent finance ministers he had actually run a large business and was schooled in that Ottawa starting proposition that you don't spend more money than you take in. Martin had spent most of his pre-political career in the employ of Montreal's P&G Desmarques who runs such a tight ship that assets worth more than \$100 billion are administered by a head office staff that numbers barely a dozen overworked executives. In 1981, Desmarques told Martin the defuncted Canada Steamship Lines, and he turned it around so effectively that Martin's interest, now held in a blind trust, has earned him an estimated \$30 million.

When Chrétien, Martin's mentor for the Liberal leadership in 1990, appointed him to the finance portfolio in 1993, it seemed a stroke of genius. How better to discredit the ambitious Paul than place him in the cabinet's kitchen sink? He seemed to be faced with the choice of either being blamed for the country's bankruptcy, or being forced to make such draconian spending cuts that he could less say future political career goodbye.

But Martin wouldn't play. Instead of going into the impossible circumstances in which he found himself, he triggered a political revolution. It signalled the end of the monism to which Canadians had become accustomed. His 1995 budget, which in retrospect appears to have been even a more radical document, cut federal expenditures by \$4 billion. What Paul Martin did, David Serfaty, a University of Calgary historian observed at the time, was to effectively sound the death knell of the liberalism that Canadians had experienced for most of the post-Second World Wars. The finance minister had triggered a cultural shift towards the private sector as the stimulator of a economy that had previously shunned governmental intervention and subsidies. Astonishingly, 3.2 million new jobs have been created since that 1995 budget, and the economy remains on track—so much so that Martin's own task is now to spend a little on our badly underfunded health-care system. (Martin's taken too cut precisely that increased Canada Pension Plan premiums will help out a good bulk of any tax savings.)

The \$11.5-billion contribution to making Medicare less of a bad joke is similarly flawed. All it means is that by the end of 2000 we will be back at the same health-care spending level we were at in 1985, when Martin made the deep cuts. But that's not the real problem.

As Bob Mulvren, head of the health policy division at the Elizabeth Fry Hospital in Vancouver and others point out, what's wrong with health care isn't fixed by throwing money at it. The emphasis has to be switched from spending the bulk of the funds and attention on access, to outcomes. Quality control is becoming at least as essential in our health-care system as quantity. This argument aside, most untrained health-care workers will make a fast grab for the new money, since hospitals have used the lack of funding as an excuse for seriously underperforming their staffs.

This budget did little to reverse the country's two main fiscal malaises that our personal income taxes remain criminally higher than the rates in the United States, a factor, which combined with the depressed value of our dollar, continue to drive the best brains out of the country. At the same time, Ottawa's largest expenditure remains the totally unproductive \$41 billion a year we pay as interest on our remaining national debt.

These are the real problems that Paul Martin's pedestrian budget did nothing to resolve.

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SORIE GAUNT
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TORONTO
February 12, 1999

From co-architect to President and CEO of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, Louise Tobin has risen up through the organization by personal merit, hard work and the ability to get things done.

She is also the author of her own book and shares her vision on how she succeeded in Canada's largest published magazine company.



GERMAINE GREER
"The whole woman"

TORONTO
April 13, 1999

From a woman in business to a woman in politics, Germaine Greer is no stranger to controversy. Author of several books and currently living in Newmarket, Ontario, Greer is a frequent speaker at women's events.



JOY CALKIN
"Heard"

TORONTO
June 17, 2000

President and CEO of Canadian Red Cross, Joy Calkin is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



SHIELLE WHITAKER
"Making your own voice"

OTTAWA
May 28, 1999

President and CEO of Canadian Red Cross, Shellee Whittaker is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



ANNE HARRIS
"Making your own voice"

OTTAWA
May 28, 1999

President and CEO of Canadian Red Cross, Anne Harris is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



CHRISTINE MAGEE
"To the dream and to the dreamer"

CALGARY
March 2, 1999

As 30 years of experience in the business world, Christine Magee is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



DEE PARKINSON-HARCOUX
"Making change happen"

VANCOUVER
April 29, 1999

President of CEO of Enbridge Energy Corp. and a successful entrepreneur, Dee is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



ANNE HARRIS
"Making your own voice"

CALGARY
May 28, 1999

President and CEO of Canadian Red Cross, Anne Harris is a woman who has been successful in making a difference in the lives of many.



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Superwoman is
burned out. Should
mom stay home?

The Mother Load

BY PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Mention "mornings" and working moms look pained. If the lady isn't gugging on her breakfast, then an older child can't finish on an undergarment and this only happens 30 seconds before leaving the house—can't locate the pink pottery mugs for above-until. At noon, it can get downright emotional. A few weeks ago, Camille Allen tried to get a pump on the day by leaving earlier than usual for her business-representative at the Canadian (Imperial) Bank of Commerce in Toronto. The change in timetable didn't suit her seven-year-old daughter, who burst into tears when her mother got ready to go. "She was miserable that day and her Dad was there, but she wanted me to take her to school," Allen says. "She wailed and wailed and I kind of pulled her off me at the front door." Allen, 41, got in her car and drove off with her daughter's cries still ringing in her head. "I got close to the highway and I thought, 'You know what? This just isn't worth it.' So I turned around, went home, waited around for half an hour and took her to school."

OK, so morning work and family is tough—but does that make it wrong? Allen doesn't think so. She admits there are times when the load seems overwhelming and the last thing she needs, she sighs, is someone saying her commitment to a career—the worked full time even when her children were infants—is bad for her family. But that's what Toronto-born, Washington-based journalist Danielle Crittenden suggests in her recent book, *What Our Mothers Didn't Tell Us*. The book, which blames feminism for many of the most difficult issues facing women—including the superwoman myth—sparked furious debate on talk shows and at dinner parties on both sides of the border when it hit store shelves in January. The fight pits traditionalists such as Crittenden against women who believe they can successfully balance career and family. And in between are a huge number of low and middle-income women for whom the point is raised—they simply can't afford to leave their jobs.

Who is Danielle Crittenden to tell other women what makes a good mother? Even those who agree with her stay-at-home words



ment say the well-heeled author hardly speaks for most mothers of young children. At 33, with a seven-year-old daughter and five-year-old son, Crittenden is married to a conservative, conservative David Frost, son of the late Barbara Frost and wealthy developer Murray Frost. She admits she is "privileged" because she could afford to scale back her career while her children were preschoolers. But she maintains that any mother who can should do the same: marry early, stay home with young children and only pursue a career if at all when the kids are in school. Such advice riles Allen, who says her career is one of the things that keeps her going. "I'm not as angry," she says, "I think women are sometimes their own worst enemies. Going home isn't the magic at all. We need to change traditional mind-sets about

how work must get done and how children get taken care of."

The one point on which everyone agrees is that the two-income family is a recipe for stress. And while most modern dads are handling more domestic duties than their fathers did, the bulk of the burden is still shouldered by women. It has been three decades since mothers of all classes began leading tails into the paid workforce, making one of the biggest social revolutions in history. Yet the same issues keep coming back to plague families: a day care bad for children? a tax expense? how men doing enough at home? can any couple of average means survive the inevitable difficulties of raising a family in a two-career marriage? Statistics Canada found that Canadians were split on this subject. In a groundbreaking 1990 survey, Statistics reported that a majority of Canadians—79 per cent of women and 68 per cent of men—said women should contribute to family income. Yet 54 per cent of women and 59 per cent of men also said that two-career families damage preschool children.

Something has to give, and in fact, change is occurring. Many large companies are encouraging working mothers to share jobs or work flexible hours. More and more, there are babies in boardrooms and sick children sleeping on office couches. As well, stay-at-home mothers are pressing for tax breaks and financial recognition for housework, and the government is tentatively listening (page 50). But progress is slow, and many mothers still face discrimination. In February, for instance, Ottawa bookkeeper Jennifer Hansen, 37, received a court-awarded settlement of \$15,000 on compensation for being fired by Beiersdorf MFG David Charters five days after giving birth to her second daughter in 1989. "Of course, the situation of working women is worse now than it was 10 years ago," says Pat Armstrong, director of the School of Canadian Studies at Carleton University. "Now, they have no choice about working because of economic pressures, but they are having trouble sustaining the kind of life and work, and that is distressing."

So-called, too, there are seriously considered tensions among parents with opposing philosophies on child-rearing. There are clashes over day care taking up space in crowded schools. There is the well-worn radical chatter when the "What do you do?" question comes up. And there is the silent seething of some stay-at-home mothers as they watch their working neighbors bustle out for the day.

A low high-profile mother is speaking up the pace of change: Heritage Minister Sheila Copps won the first Canadian MP to give birth while in office, even though women have been members of the House of Commons since 1935. Copps became well-known for leaving her daughter, Danielle, now 11, at her side until she was over six months old. Her eldest daughter eventually became a thing of the past in her office, and House night sittings and constituency meetings became less frequent, partly because Copps showed up with her daughter a few times. "I'm sure it rattled some feathers, but they quickly learned to be a bit more reasonable around scheduling," she says. Over the years, Copps says she has learned to stop putting too much pressure on herself—women too often try to be "superheroes" she says. But they have every right to participate in public life as fully as men. "I want to be a woman and a mother and a parliamentarian, and I shouldn't have to make the choice," she says. "We don't ask men to make the choice."

Many Canadian families, in fact, are bypassing the "choice" issue completely and creating new strategies that combine work and mothering. Vancouver Island physician Esther Jones, 41, set up a practice in Duncan, on the east coast of the island, six years ago with her physician husband. She works out of her office 3½ days a week and is an all

LEADING THE DEBATE
Author
Crittenden,
and Copps,
Danielle, in
1987 on
Parliament
Hill (right)





For most working women with small children, the choice is less philosophical than it is financial

COVER

every third week. Her three children, aged 11, 10 and 8 are cared for by one babysitter after school and another who is available to work any nights or weekends that she or her husband, also a doctor, may be on call. Typically, that amounts to about 24 hours a week.

Jones's only regret is that she cannot send 12 hours a day pre-school medicine and then another 12 with her children. "It'd like to be a 24-hour day," she says, working women do more than bring home a paycheck or better their own ends. "I love my job and it allows me to do good to do it," she says, "but I can also make a contribution to society. I think that is one of the things that coaxes the importance of people who say women should stay home. We don't question that men can make social contributions and still be fathers."

Chilpancingo Dine and Brenda Taylor have found a way to keep their jobs but be stay-at-home parents. Since their daughter, Danielle, was born five years ago, the Taylors began what they call "tag-team parenting." Danielle, now 36, who was a supervisor for the food chain Calgary Co-Op before Danielle was born, cut her hours roughly in half—and worked there mostly in the evenings and on weekends where Brenda, a teacher, could be home to take care of their daughter. Recently, she quit the Co-Op and started her own home painting business so she could have more control over the hours she works—and more family time. "Before I had a child, I thought, 'My gosh, stay-at-home mothers must be bored or they are not really doing anything,'" Dine says. "But now, I think it's one of the most important jobs in our society."

And I think it's a gift for children to have a parent in the home." That may be, but many women who stay at home face isolation and the struggle of giving up a hard-won career. Kathleen Nightingale, 43, was certified as a welder in British Columbia in 1989. She enjoyed the work, the good money and the time off during construction periods. But when her children were born in 1986 and 1989, she hit a wall. Early start times at distant work meant she was getting up at 4:30 a.m. Others, she did not arrive home in Maple Ridge, east of Vancouver, before 6 p.m. With high taxes and monthly \$800 day care fees, there was little financial incentive to keep it up, so in the early 1980s, she quit.

The family now lives in Pitt Meadows and Nightingale, who is married, takes occasional part-time jobs to help stretch the family's income. She is mostly content, she says, and her boys like the stability and relaxed routine she can provide because she is at home. But she battles to stay in touch with the adult world, by reading and living active in her community. "I need to be in there or else I'd go crazy," she says. "I believe there are only certain kinds of people who are cut out for staying at home," she adds, "and even fewer are prepared for it. A lot of people blunder in and they don't really realize what they are getting into."

For most of the 70 per cent of women with small children who now work outside the home, the choice is less philosophical than financial. In fact, just last fall The New York Times Magazine ran a story about wife as one of the new status symbols for families in the late 1980s. Canadian actress Carol Lewis wants to change that. Lewis, 54, jump-started a campaign to gain recognition

for unpaid housework in the census. In 1981, the Statistics Canada mother of three refused to fill out her census form because there was no category for housework. She was threatened with a fine and imprisonment, but her of form paid off. The charges were dropped and in 1985 Canada became the first industrialized country to track hours of housework performed per week, by both men and women, through its census.

Lewis, whose stock answer to the question, "What do you do for a living?" is "I'm a stay-at-home mother and I can teach," says the "revolution" of houseworking is what motivated her crusade. Although she is not pressing for paid housework, she says measures such as pension credits and tax deductions would make staying home more feasible and help mothers feel better about their choice. "The revolution of houseworking has a lot to do with not being paid," says Lewis, who has a master's degree in psychology. "We listen in our society that your value is pegged to your income and your possessions."

Just as some housewives feel unappreciated, their counterparts in the workforce say they're disappointed from mothers who have chosen to stay at home. Michelle Tougas-Landier of Pointe Claire, Que., was able to take two years off from her job as a high-school English teacher when her daughter, now 14 and 12, were infants (she also has 16-year-old twin boys), but she has worked full time ever since. Many of the women in her suburban Montreal neighborhood are full-time mothers who have said she could only stay at home if she managed her money better. Tougas-Landier says. But even she falls away to the side when she has to leave her children—when asked if you can opt the day care when her classes based on their bad behavior, Tougas-Landier says she can. But then she changes her mind. "I take that back," she says. "It's the one with parents who are too permissive or don't teach respect for authority."

Sorting this out is stressful, and health professionals see the signs of it every day. Lee Tidmarsh, a child psychiatrist at Montreal Children's Hospital, says it is impossible to conclude that all mothers should either be at home or at work. She has seen mothers who have had long careers with children with bipolarities and others who are deeply unhappy at home. "We women carry that extra load of guilt on our second X chromosome," she says, "and it doesn't help when somebody puts out a book like *Crucial Choices*." Adds Tidmarsh: "Generally, families do an excellent job of finding good care for their children. And children are thriving. We haven't seen anything that suggests children in day care are having problems with attachment or development."

Working or staying at home is a choice between two solitudes, moving from one to the other can be doubly hard. Brenda Cran, who lives in Kitchener, Ont., has essentially followed the path that Critchenden recommended. She married at 25 and went to school part time after her children, Jessica, 5 and Scott, 7, were born. She is trying to launch her career and recently began working as a substitute teacher. In the past, she has had to make choices of her own. She says her husband's career was a factor in her decision to stay at home. "I was not used to having so little in common with them. It sort of kills the conversation when you say you are at home," Cran says, "because you can talk about anything else but your kids."

Now 34, Cran finds herself grappling with the other side of the coin. As she tries to get her career off the ground, she wonders if she is not relinquishing her children, especially her daughter. At the same time, she worries about being it in the workplace. "It is a huge first to go back to work," she says. "You feel that your brain just goes to mush. There is a wall in front of you. You have to figure out not only what you are doing but how you are going to organize the children's lives. I'm not sure I'm up to it."

Then there is the endless, seemingly intractable problem of organizing what she does when she is the sole individual household. Matthew Little, a computer programmer, was laid off from his job as a computer programmer last summer. He will be starting a new job soon. Little, 34, says the ideal situation would be to job-share with his wife, so that at least one of them could always be home with their children. Finding that, they find themselves constantly renegotiating the terms of their relationship, as both look for the way they can take from tradition—and what must simply be dropped. Their fights are often about the expectations that Tim the dog, I should go out and bring home the

THE PRIVILEGE OF HOME

Danielle Critchenden is a full working mother made. She arrives for an interview at a Toronto restaurant, crisply dressed and confident, bringing her more extensive record of her new book, *What Our Mothers Didn't Tell Us: Why Happiness Eludes the Modern Woman*. Although the book at times succeeds in drawing vivid portraits of the problems women face—most notably, the pressures on working mothers—Critchenden has been widely criticized for peddling a solution that is either unrealistic or unworkable in most women: postponing work and career at least until children are in school. Answered her new book, Critchenden says she has no desire to restrict up the guilt as common among working mothers. "In some cases they might not have any choice," she says, "but I'm not addressing each individual woman's case. I'm taking as a general rule. Let's be honest about the consequences to our children and the consequences to ourselves as mothers when we pursue this."

Critchenden, 35, apparently has very little by choosing to stay with her own children while they were preschoolers. Her career was well-established—she has been a journalist since she was a teenager, beginning with a column in *The Toronto Star*, a newspaper co-edited by her stepfather, Peter Wertheimer. She skipped university, and by the time she married fellow journalist David Pratt in 1988, she had worked in Africa and China, and finished her master's thesis in the editor of Washington-based *The Women's Quarterly*, she is due to begin a monthly column in the *National Post*, and she comments on women's issues for U.S. and Canadian radio and TV. Now that her two children, aged 5 and 7, are both in school, she describes herself with a touch of envy in her voice, as a "thoroughly modern independent woman" who typically works from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

She says she still would have stayed home with her preschoolers even if she did not enjoy financial security, and cites her own mother, Toronto journalist Wynne Critchenden, as her role model. "Yes, I'm privileged," she says, "but I also think I was very privileged to have a mother who made very big financial sacrifices for me when she was single. She was not used to feminist notions that women should have careers, but now dismisses the women's movement as extreme and ultimately damaging. Among other things, she argues, the movement's emphasis on day care has pushed women into the workforce when they might prefer being home with their children. "My last mother-in-law said, 'I give birth and say the first thing I want to do is dump the kids so I can get back to the office.'"

On the issue of mothers who must work to support their families, Critchenden remains frustratingly vague. "How is the space of a generation, have we made it a point of only the rich to be able to care for their children?" she asks. "That was not true a generation ago, it was not true during much poorer times in our history. What is it today that causes so many women to feel that they have no choice but to work?" Good questions, no doubt, but for most working mothers, Critchenden misses the point.

PATRICIA CRITCHENDEN



house," and that Brenda is the girl and she is supposed to stay home." Little says, "Well, unfortunately, the feminist revolution has enriched both of these images. The whole relationship has to be hybrid and dynamic enough to change with whatever the situation dictates."

And just when it seems the load could not get any worse, there is the added pressure of society's mounting expectations for parents. Jill Scott, 40, is the father of five-year-old Eliot, as well as two adult children from a previous marriage. He works as a residence supervisor at Haskin University while his wife, Anne Scott, 35, works full time as an administrator for the same employer. Both with the best possible education for their child, "Things are different inside Eliot's head than when I was a child," Scott says, "particularly in how much we will have to prepare her for school. When I entered Grade 1, we didn't have kindergarten, I only knew the letter S, for my last name. When Eliot starts kindergarten, we will have had to teach her so much more—the alphabet, things I didn't learn until I finished Grade 1. This is pressure, but I don't mind doing this."

Even with more help from spouses, a growing number of women adapt that they just can't keep up with the demands of work and family. Some companies are responding. Peter Brown, chairman of fiscal accounting and consulting firm DeBorja & DeBorja, says his firm realized in the mid-1990s that it was in danger of losing valuable talent. Turnover was costing the firm \$40 million a year, as well as the loss of women who were potentially performing at the highest level. To balance the pressure to bill hours against the needs of their children, "We need to have the best people we can get," Brown says, "and if we're dropping from only half the population, we're shortchanging ourselves."

The workplace has changed with richer maternity benefits, nursing rooms and personal leave days

The firm has tried offering flexible hours and part-time arrangements. But many eligible women are not using the programs, partly because they fear that by leaving their hours, they will be required to take a leave of absence. Little says the firm is reviewing its approach and plans to hold workshops over the next 14 to 15 months to "raise everyone's awareness" about the firm's policies. Brenda says she is not really the program that seems to be important as much as an empathetic work environment. And he is determined to create one. "You can make a very good business case for this," he says. "But the fact is, it's also the right thing to do."

Other companies are pursuing the same drive. At the Royal Bank of Canada, 30 per cent of the more than 40,000 employees, both men and women, are on some sort of flexible work schedule-sharing at the Royal, just one of the options the bank offers, has become so popular that more than half of the participants now do it for reasons unrelated to child care. Innovations are even more dramatic at smaller companies. Cheryl Benson, Toronto leasing manager for The Body Shop, a United Kingdom-based chain that caters

HIGHGIRLS WITH SONS SAM (LEFT) AND ANJANA, AND BOB RUPERT
'There are only certain kinds of people who are cut out for staying home'

and sells cosmetics, was hired by the firm when she was pregnant with her first child. She brought her daughter to work with her when she returned after giving birth and kept her with her during working hours for about six months. "We would go into the boardrooms with this little baby sitting in a chair, looking at these lineboards," she recalls. "It gives you a whole different perspective on business."

Toronto consultant Norm Spinks, who has advised companies on the same for two decades, notes that the workplace has altered dramatically over the past 10 years. Changes range from richer parental benefits to nursing rooms to personal leave days—and, Spinks says, there is no going back. "The idea that it takes a village to raise a child has never been more clear than it is today," he says. "Because we need women in the public labour force in order to keep our economy going—they provide 35 per cent of our tax revenue."

Shelagh Whitaker has a unique perspective on the whole business. In one lifetime she has managed to have a family and climb the corporate ladder to become CEO of the Toronto-based financial services company of the same name. She is also one of Canada's highest-ranking female executives. Now 51, she is the mother of four children, her youngest, a five-year-old son, is cared for by a nanny. Whitaker connects younger women on the home-work split, and she has concluded that women have to stop worrying about the expectations of others and concentrate on their own preferences. "I used to fight for the big issues, but now I fight for individuals," she says. "Choose and then get comfortable with it—I don't feel apologetic or even guilty out of shape. One of the things that helped me is a lot that I never felt a woman's guilt about being a working mother? And, she might have added, don't expect others to make the same decisions. After all, not all that what choice is all about."

BY SHARON DOWLE DUNSTON AND SUSAN MCCLELLAND in Toronto, and **AMAN BHAGZAN** in Calgary

OF BUDGETS AND BABIES

COVER

Paul Martin barely typed on his in the politics of the family as the budget speech last week—just a couple of sentences dealing with the well-being of young children. But that proved to be enough for Liberal MP John Godfrey. "They were Mad as the words," the ebullient Godfrey says of the finance minister's modest pronouncement, "in terms of next year's teachers for healthy children." Chairman of the Liberal's National Children's Agenda Council (Senator Gordon Sinclair), a longtime children's rights activist, a vice-chairman, Godfrey is also a first-time parent of a four-year-old, who might be excused if he feels a bit flustered. Since the introduction of the early 1990s, women such as day care, parental leave and tax help for working or stay-at-home mothers have taken a back seat to fighting the deficit or rising health care. But there are now signs that the politics of the family is heating up.

In the era of the thematic budget, Godfrey is among those in old Ottawa who say that if last year was the election budget and last week the health-care budget, then next year—the million-dollar—ought to be the children's budget: the chance to set the tax and policy agenda for early marriage and job-seekers' parents. Add to that the fact that last September, the Reform Party launched a three-pronged attack in Parliament—stressing family values, but taxation for home-makers and respect for parental authority. The result, the minutes of a shipwrecked fight: "We support the authority of the Canadian family," says Calgary Reform MP Eric Lovejoy, "but this respect notion of children is more part of freedom-loving."

Provinces, also are laying down markers. Two with social-democratic, Quebec and British Columbia, have made supreme strategies for children and the family to highlight their intentions. And conservative Ontario appears to be shifting its weight behind a social-family-centred reform. Premier Mike Harris recently named about 2000-style respect for parents as what many now see as the most effective tool to reduce the budget deficit. Many strategists, however, have been disappointed. "The fact is that the contact has just received a commissioned report from Fraser Mustard, former head of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research. Mustard wasn't any exactly what he has told the cabinet. But his views are well known," he says. The human bond is mostly there for life by age six and the biggest challenge is to make it last. "The fact is that the contact has just received a commissioned report from Fraser Mustard, former head of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research. Mustard wasn't any exactly what he has told the cabinet. But his views are well known," he says. The human bond is mostly there for life by age six and the biggest challenge is to make it last.

Mustard and others, like Godfrey, agree that the family debate is changing because the issue is no longer simply financial distress but what many call true poverty—stressed-out families with two working parents—right across the socioeconomic scale. While this builds out the opportunity for fresh conflicts, the solutions can be tricky. Helping young mothers stay at home to nurture will require some delicate shifting for these governments such as Ontario, Alberta and New Brunswick that have spent the past decade paying single welfare means out to work. Three issues may be the first: more flexible parental leave, more sophisticated child care attached to the local school or place of work (often through a employer), and a more equitable personal taxation system for families with children.



PARENT VOTING NDP MP Mathieu Bockale and son Keanu James

In November, two researchers with the C.D. Howe Institute argued convincingly that the Canadian tax system shifts a weightier burden onto families with one breadwinner and a stay-at-home parent. While true, adds Robert Godfrey, executive director of the Vander Institute of the Family in Ottawa, making it easier to stay at home will only work for some. The economic imperative of two wage earners "is still there and will stay there in spades."

Europe, with its interventionist strategies and profoundly minimalist, is sometimes seen as a model. But even in Europe, says analyst Kathy O'Hara with the Canadian Policy Research Network, there are vast differences in attitudes and approach. Germany shows its system in lower stay-at-home parents, but the approach in France and Sweden, which offers one year of subsidized parental leave and 180 days of flexible leave (at 75 per cent of salary) for parents with children under 12, is designed to support women's choices. According to polls, Canadians, Americans and the British are more ambivalent about working mothers than most. It is not clear that the demand for direct government intervention has often been as widespread.

Quebec, with its \$5-a-day fees for day care, and push towards greater parental leave, is by far the most European of provinces, researchers say. And that's the beauty of an expansive national strategy argues Godfrey. About to go public in the next few weeks with the National Children's Agenda, the Liberal caucus has been studying a variety of solutions, including Liberal Minister Jean Kesteven's proposal to give families up to \$1,000 a year per child, depending on income. Godfrey would prefer to fund this money in the provinces through the new Social Union package, among Quebec's advocates as an implicit model. "We're a long way to go yet," says Godfrey, who fears the project is a wild, backwoods horse race. "One little pony didn't do so well this budget," he added. "We will be a lot stronger the next time out."

ROBERT SHEPPARD

A FEMINIST STAYS HOME

Mary Thornhill came to work for *Maclean's* in November 1988. She was quickly through the media, from assistant editor to associate editor to senior writer and, finally, to Calgary bureau chief. When her son, Jacob, was born in March, 1997, she took a six-year maternity leave. But three months after returning to work on a part-time basis, Thornhill, now 36, decided instead to become a stay-at-home mother. Her report from the house front

I was shaking when I made the fateful call that would leave my journalism career. And I was still mainly late first afternoon last spring as I made my way home through the drizzling rain. Then I stepped through the door and Jacob beamed and reached his little arms towards me. We stepped outside onto the back porch and danced around and around, Jacob giggling as the rain splattered on his cherub face. I was as happy as I have ever been. I couldn't even remember why the decision to quit my job had been so agonizing. It seemed so right—fit my family, I hope, but also for me.

I was a stay-at-home mom of a nearly two-year-old toddler. I was also a feminist. And I think my decision surprised many who knew me. I was once vaguely embarrassed when I called to tell my colleagues, as they might be misled or envious. They turned out to be unfailingly supportive.

Totbe honest, I had expected to enjoy my motherhood. I had also had an excellent, well-paying job. I loved my career, keeping in mind that I had just won the Olympics in Atlanta. I was in the swim of current events. I liked going back to work. But I also missed Jacob terribly. Our home life became hectic. And I started to feel as though special moments were flying by unnoticed and I could never get them back.

I think I said that I have a career, decent housing (the words in an estimator for a general contractor) who would never suggest that I have any less say in family decisions just because I stopped carrying a salary. Yet I am uncomfortable being dependent on him. I want to be self-reliant. I do not want to burden him with the full weight of supporting our family.

Certainly understand why many mothers of young children continue to work outside the home. I have friends who have fulfilling careers and who are happy to return to their children. They send the best for their kids as well as much as I do for Jacob. That I do genuinely believe that families should be able to choose to have one parent stay at home—and that choice is very often not possible, at least not realistic. The women's movement has traditionally lobbied for paid actual child care cost. And that is still vital. But in the extent that Canadians in about grown women choose the movement should be fighting just as well-served for her reforms that would benefit stay-at-home parents. My family is fortunate. We can make do on one salary with some lifestyle adjustments, but no significant hardship. I have cousins who have tried, but simply could not make ends meet. According to the Vancouver Institute of the Family in Ottawa, seven out of 10 Canadian young children now have two incomes compared with three out of 10 three decades ago.

A part-time pay a long-term price for interrupting a career. I don't know yet what my decision will cost me. I know a teacher who is on



'I liked going back to work. But I also missed Jacob.'

Thornhill and son 'We paint and hang pots'

her third year's leave of absence. But most of the stay-at-home moms I know have no guarantee to go back to a job. I understand why most companies would not, could not, promise to hold a position open indefinitely. Whatever work I do find, I can't help wonder whether there will forever be an invisible asterisk beside my name—'former housewife, commitment to her job now suspect'.

In the end, I decided the benefits outweighed the risks. I love my little boy. And I love the time I have with him. There are days when we are out of sync when I feel I'm saying 'No' a million times and I think I really should be better at this parenting thing. But there are many more days when I am struck by how lucky I am—like the other day when Jacob discovered with great glee that his shadow will dance if he dances, too, or how tender moments after a nap when I cradle my grumpy baby in my arms as he slowly emerges from sleep. We go for walks these days and collect rocks and hang out at the playground or the zoo. We paint and draw and hang pots with wooden spoons, and I can understand most of his halfhearted whines because I am around when he learns these things.

I am sure Jacob would have been just as happy working. And perhaps this is my chosen path and so I would like to think that it will make a difference in his life—that it will help him, if only in small measures, to grow to be a happy, secure, responsible man. Of course, I am staying home for my sake as much as his. For the sheer joy of watching him bloom. Surely every family should at least have the opportunity to lead its own dream. □

People

Edited by
TANIA DAVIES

The gift of the puppets

Diane Dupuy, who recalls her public school classmates wrangling calling her a 'bitch,' has come a long way from those painful early days. Now 58, Dupuy is celebrating the 25th anniversary of her internationally successful theatre company, the **Tamam People Players**, with a new play, *Leave the Porth Light On*, that will tour Canada for the next year. In 1974, using a \$17,000 federal grant, Dupuy created a critically acclaimed puppet show and cost mentally challenged young people to 'spark the life-sized' concept group on a blacklight stage. 'Back then, all I heard was 'Ninety five. We had to hide because of our label,' says Dupuy about the common reaction to her disabled cast. 'Now, we are proud and accepted as we are.' In fact, the troupe has grown to 54 members, has entertained audiences around the world and can count such celebrities as Tom Cruise, Phil Collins and Paul Newman as fans and financial supporters.

Growing up in Hamilton, Dupuy was labelled a slow learner and was placed in a school. Then her mother, Mary Thornton—who designs all the props and sets for the company—made her a hand puppet and told her to use it to entertain her classmates. It worked—Dupuy was accepted by the other children. Now happily married to Bernard Dupuy, general manager of the Toronto-based theatre, her two grown daughters, Jeannine and Joanne, have also been involved with the company.

Stars such as current **Andrea Martin**, **Nathan Lane** and **Elaine** and **Lesly** and **Michael** Bergman recorded the dialogue for



Dupuy and friends 'All people can make their dreams come true'

Leave the Porth Light On—the first time the company has used celebrity voices for the puppets. 'We reached out before us how to make this anniversary special,' says Dupuy, 'and finally decided to do this.' The play chronicles Dupuy's struggles with the theatre and includes real-life stories of cast members. 'We want to show that it doesn't matter what your circumstances are,' she says. 'All people can make their dreams come true.'

A cross-cultural king of the kimonos

Masao has started wearing white powder and kimonos because of it. Hiroshi Vodka created an advertisement around it. And Oscar-winning director **Steven Spielberg** is adapting it for the big screen. It's a moment of a *Gracie*, the latest movie by **Arthur Golden** that was on *The New York Times* best-seller list for 58 weeks. More than a surprise success is the 30-year-old person account of the life of a celebrated geisha—and the first that is written by a 42-year-old native of Christianity. 'This writing teaches things that I think students will write about what they know,' he says. 'But I



Golden the geisha 'ignores' his career

thought it was better to write about what sparks your imagination, and the geisha is in Kyoto, Japan, sparked mine.' Golden's love of Japan began when he studied Japanese art at Harvard University

and later earned a graduate degree in Japanese history at Columbia University. He then moved to Tokyo and met a young man whose mother was a geisha, in an American restaurant. 'I was fascinated,' says Golden, who then took a year to research and write his book. 'As an American male of the 1990s, I needed to cross these cultural divides—even to women, American to Japanese and present to past. When I told people that I was writing about, they thought I was crazy.' How living in a suburb of Boston with his wife, Ruby, and their two children, Golden is writing his second novel, which has 'nothing to do with Japan at all.' He claims he is not worried about how successful his sophomore effort will be, saying, 'I have a tough act to follow, but that is a good problem to have—I'll take it.'

WHEN MACHINES THINK

BY RAY KURZWEIL

A threshold event will take place early in the 21st century: the emergence of machines as intelligent as their creators. By 2012, a \$1,000 computer will match the processing power of the human brain—about 20-million-billion calculations per second. Organizing these resources—the “software” of intelligence—will take us to 2028, by which time your average personal computer will be equivalent to 1,000 human brains.

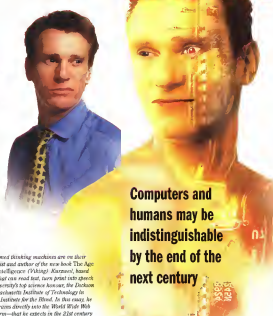
Once a computer achieves a level of intelligence comparable to human intelligence, it will necessarily use part II. For the time being, computers can easily share their knowledge. It's *Usna* French, as *usna* War and Peace. I can't readily download that learning to you. You have to acquire that scholarship the same painstaking way that I did. But if our computer learns a skill or piece of insight, it can immediately share that wisdom with billions of other computers. So every computer can be a master of all human and machine-acquired knowledge.

Keep in mind that this is not an alien invasion of intelligent machines. It is emerging from within our civilization. There will not be a clear distinction between human and machine as we go through the 21st century. First of all, we will be putting computers—neural implants—directly into our brains. We have already started down this path. We have neural implants to counteract Parkinson's disease and tremors from multiple sclerosis. We have cochlear implants that restore hearing to deaf individuals. Under development is a retinal implant that will perform a similar function for blind people, basically replacing the visual processing circuits of the brain. Recently, scientists from Emory University in Atlanta placed a chip in the brain of a paralyzed stroke victim who can now begin to communicate and control his environment directly from his brain. In the 2020s, neural implants will not be just for disabled people. There will be ubiquitous use of neural implants to improve our sensory experiences, perception, memory and logical thinking. These implants will also plug us in directly to the World Wide Web. This technology will enable us to have virtual reality experiences with other people—or simulated people—without requiring any equipment not already in our heads. And virtual reality will not be the crude experience that you may have experienced today in arcade games. Virtual reality will be as realistic, detailed and usable as real reality. So instead of just phoning a friend, you can meet in a virtual French café in Paris, or stroll down a virtual Champs-Élysées, and it will seem very real. People will be able to have any type of experience with anyone—business, social, romantic, sexual—regardless of physical proximity.

One approach to designing intelligent computers will be to copy the human brain, so these machines will seem very human. And though emulating, which is the goal up to create physical objects from bit stream, they will have human-like self-awareness.



More over, HAL and C3PO. Real systems of machine's famed thinking machines are on their way—very soon, says Ray Kurzweil, a leading U.S. futurist and author of the new book *The Age of Spiritual Machines: When Computers Exceed Human Intelligence* (Piking). Kurzweil, based in Wellesley, Mass., pioneered the development of software that can read text, turn point into speech and recognize voices. He was awarded Carnegie-Mellon University's top science honor, the Dickson Prize, in 1994, and named Inventor of the Year by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1988. He has also been honored by the Canadian National Institute for the Blind. In this essay, he sets out some of the startling developments—from plugging brains directly into the World Wide Web to replacing individuals, *Max Headroom*-style, in robotic form—that he expects in the 21st century.



Computers and humans may be indistinguishable by the end of the next century

enhanced—bodies as well. Having human origins, they will claim to be human and to have human feelings. And being immortally intelligent, they'll be very convincing when they tell us these things.

The next 20 years will see far more change than the previous hundred. Most concerns I hear about the future are not very well thought out. One common failure is to focus on only one aspect of science and technology while ignoring other developments that are likely to intervene. Another is to see only one or two instances of advancement in a technology and then assume that progress will come to a halt. Another is failing to understand the accelerating nature of technological progress.

One very important trend is referred to as "Moore's Law." Gordon Moore, one of the inventors of integrated circuits, and then chairman of Intel, noted in the mid 1970s that we could separate twice as many transistors on an integrated circuit every 24 months. The implication is that computers, which are built from integrated circuits, are doubling in power every two years. Lately, the rate has been even faster.

After 80 years of devoted service, Moore's Law still has a dignified death around the year 2029. By that time, transistor features will be just a few atoms in width and the strategy of ever finer photolithography will have run its course. So will that be the end of the exponential growth of computing?

Don't bet on it. Computing devices have been consistently multiplying in power from the mechanical calculating devices used in the 1890 U.S. census to Alan Turing's relay-based machine that cracked the Nazi Enigma code, to the transistor-based computer that predicted the election of *Rise* shower, to the integrated-circuit-based personal computer that I used to dictate this article, using speech-to-text software.

A new pattern of exponential growth will take over from Moore's Law, just as Moore's Law took over from discrete transistors, and we can take before that. I call it the Law of Accelerating Returns. There are many new technologies waiting in the wings—three-dimensional chips, nanobots, optical computing, crystalline computing, DNA computing, and quantum computing—to keep the Law of Accelerating Returns going for a long time.

So where will this take us? By 2038, it will take a village of human brains to match a \$1,000 personal computer. By 2060, a thousand dollars of computing will equal the processing power of all human brains on Earth. Cite, I mean, be off a year or two.

Actually, this only includes those brains still using carbon-based neurons. While human neurons are wonderful creations in a way, we certainly wouldn't design computing circuits the same way. Our electronic circuits are already more than a million times faster. Most of the complexity of a human neuron is devoted to maintaining its life-support functions, not its information processing capabilities. In fact, we will avoid in part the neural processes in a more suitable computing environment. Then our minds won't have to stay so small, being constrained as they are today to a mere 100 trillion neuron connections (each operating at a ponderous 200 calculations per second).

So far, I've been talking about the hardware of computing. But achieving the computational capacity of the human brain, as even villages and nations of human brains, will not automatically produce human levels of capability. The organization and content of these resources—the software of intelligence—is also critical.

There are a number of compelling reasons to capture higher levels of intelligence in our computers, and ultimately human levels and beyond. Using massive parallel processing and neural networks that emulate the brain, we will be able to evolve and train a system to understand language and absorb knowledge, including the ability to read and understand written documents. Although the ability of today's computers to extract and learn knowledge from other languages is documented, their capacity in this domain is improving rapidly. Computers will be able to read on their own, understanding what they have read by the second decade of the 21st century. We can then have our computers read all of the world's

literature—books, magazines, scientific journals, and other readable material. Ultimately, the machines will gather knowledge on their own by venturing into the physical world, drawing from the full spectrum of media and information services, and sharing knowledge with each other (which machines can do far more easily than their human creators).

When do we consider an entity to be conscious, to feel pain?

Perhaps a more interesting approach than just scanning the books to understand it is actually scanning the books to download it. Here we copy someone's books to map the locations, interconnections and contents of all the terms, names, descriptors, geographic entities and other neural components. Is either one

An even easier way to do this is to take a brain layer—preferably one frozen just slightly before rather than slightly after it was going to die anyway—and examine one brain layer—one very thin slice—at a time. We can readily see every neuron and every connection and every neurotransmitter strength represented in each synapse-thin layer.

We don't worry, at least not yet, about causing pain and suffering to our computer programs. But at what point do we consider an entity, a process, to be conscious, to feel pain and discomfort, to have its own intentionality, its own free will? How do we determine if an entity is conscious, if it has subjective ex-

Most forecasts of the future seem to ignore the revolutionary impact of the inevitable emergence of computers that match and ultimately vastly exceed the capabilities of the human brain. That development will be no less important than the evolution, thousands of centuries ago, of human intelligence itself. □

The collage features several educational resources from Maclean's magazine. At the top left is a 'Current Events Quiz' with a small photo of a person. Below it is a cover for 'The Canadian Experience Anthology' with a photo of a group of people. To the right is a 'Maclean's RESOURCE KIT' titled 'HOW TO USE MACLEAN'S IN THE CLASSROOM'. In the center is a 'Teacher's Guide' for 'The Canadian Experience Anthology'. At the bottom right is a cover for 'Maclean's A Confident Canada' with a photo of a person. Other smaller covers and documents are visible in the background.

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The pros of Pro-Line

Sitting in front of Pelissier. Half two weeks ago in blue jeans, a black old jacket and a baseball cap pulled low against the cold, Brian LeBlanc did not look like someone who had just struck it rich. In fact, he was down-right angry. Since then, LeBlanc and his brother Terry won \$1.7 million from the Atlantic Lottery Corp.'s version of Pro-Line, an over-the-counter form of sports wagering, by correctly picking the winners of three NBA games. The windfall was the largest ever paid out by the ALC—the previous high was \$325,000. And it was just the latest jackpot for LeBlanc and his brother, Atlantic anglers who claim to have won between \$5 million and \$30 million in Pro-Line since 1993 using their own formula for beating the odds. So what's LeBlanc's problem? The 38-year-old resident of Aylmer, Que., complains he is being squeezed out of the action by Ontario lottery officials who, he says, are doing everything possible to thwart him. "We use very complex math to calculate probabilities," he told *Marion's*. "And we take advantage of the lot terry corporation's mistakes."

It is every gambler's dream to find a secret formula for winning. It is also every casino and every lot terry's nightmare. As a result, when LeBlanc, a talented mathematician, began picking up sizable winnings on Pro-Line in Ottawa, the Ontario Lottery Corp. responded by suddenly changing the odds against the play. Last June, the OLC reduced the personal betting limit to \$300 per day from \$5,000, and restricted sales at stores to a maximum of \$32,500 per day. Those moves make it especially difficult for LeBlanc and his partner, who now average of \$300,000 a week. They now have to pay runners to place \$10,000 bets at dozens of job-oriented outlets.

The formula isn't foolproof. "Last season, things didn't go very well," LeBlanc admits. "The last time that we won 'And sports gambling remains a cash cow for provincial governments. Since schemes such as Pro-Line and One-Under were introduced in Canada in 1986, they have added as much as \$351 million last year alone. Players try to predict the outcome—win, lose or tie—of at least two of the selected



Scallop at his Ottawa store: lottery rules cut into profits

Big-time gamblers say lotteries are shutting them out of the action

hockey, basketball, football and soccer games according to published odds. Sports fans stand a better chance of winning oddsmakers than of winning traditional lotteries, such as Lotto 6/49. The statistics bear this out—since 1993 in Ontario, bettors on various sports-related games have won \$766.2 million on wagers totalling \$1.3 billion, while the average yield of hitting the 6/49 jackpot are one in 14 million.

Bill Vuoren, the LeBlancs' lawyer, says the OLC's policy alterations unfairly target his clients. "These two men sit well within the rules, so the rules simply get changed," Vuoren says. "The lottery corporation is making up an argument." The LeBlancs also

contend that the rules are only being enforced in the Ottawa region. But OLC spokesman Don Foster argues that the games are simply not designed for play by sophisticated gamblers with huge means to wager. "This situation," says Foster, "is to provide a bit of fun for a couple of bucks."

LeBlanc, who got his first taste of gambling as a boy by accompanying his father, is a race track in Toronto, won't say exactly how his mathematical formula works, but he estimates he now reaps an average weekly profit of \$30,000. Occasionally, he and Terry spot odds on games that, by their calculations, are dramatically in their favor, such as in 1996 when they won \$1.6 million on a series of wagers on a Los Angeles game. Last month, LeBlanc won the odds the ALC gave on a pair of NBA games that did not take into consideration recent injuries to key players. He flew to Madison, placed 6,000 \$25 bets, and \$257,100 proved to be winners. "They had two teams listed as underdogs that should've been the favorites," he explains.

LeBlanc's heavy betting has been a boon for Ottawa-area retailers, who collect their per cent on all sales. At Bob Scott'sports's west-end convenience store, that commission amounted to \$48,000 annually under the old rules. Scott says the new rules are cutting into his profits. "Things are real tight for corner stores," says Scott. "And every extra penny counts." The OLC enforces the rules by threatening to turn off stores' electronic bet-processing machines if owners exceed customer limits. That happened twice in January to Margaret Jones, another Ottawa retailer who told *Marion's* he was being squeezed because he was a friend of LeBlanc.

Foster says he sympathizes with store owners. "We're simply protecting ourselves as any gaming enterprise," says Foster. "And the fact is all rules have to be enforced." But critics say the OLC may have gone too far. At Tebb's, who writes a column for Vancouver-based *Winnipeg's Edge*, a weekly newspaper aimed at professional gamblers, admits LeBlanc and his partner have a system and handicap that are unprecedented. Still, Tebb argues that the LeBlancs are doing nothing wrong. "These guys know how to win," says Tebb. "Oh, find it."

If the cannot convince OLC officials to revise the personal wagering limit, LeBlanc says he may shift his luck by publishing his picks. "If things don't get better for us, things will get worse for the OLC," warns LeBlanc. "We could destroy their game if we wanted to."

LUCY FISHER in Ottawa

Books

Sex, drugs and the rock king

Elvis Presley died isolated and vulnerable

CARELESS LOVE: THE UNMAKING OF ELVIS PRESLEY
By Peter Guralnick
(Little, Brown, 766 pages, \$37.95)

Early on in the second volume of Peter Guralnick's biography of the King of Rock 'n' Roll, Presley tells a minor publishing anecdote about a minor rock nightspot. The year is 1960 and the 25-year-old singer had been back in the United States only a few short months after coming out of his military service in Germany. But already his manner, Col. Tom Parker, had him making two albums, two movies and a TV special with Frank Sinatra. Presley's pop stardom meant that he always had a large entourage, and legends of him camped near his Graceland mansion. But in the nightspot, Guralnick writes, "there were no limo out the gates, there was no Col. Parker, and he left alone, helpless, and dazed." The scene turned out to be prophetic, as Guralnick tells the reader gently later. Although the hangers-on, fans and Parker stayed with him until his death in 1977, Presley died as isolated and vulnerable as ever.

Guralnick's first volume, *Let It Be: The Memphis*, was a celebratory fable about Presley's rise from humble, truck-driving roots to iconic status as the revolutionary rocker. With Guralnick's, the author writes in an epic magisterial style, Presley in the shadow of the victim, allowed creative genius with no control of his talent or his career. But Guralnick is careful not to paint a darker solely at Parker; the carnival barker turned shrewd impresario instead the author shows how everyone around Presley—family, friends, bodyguards and doctors—treated the singer as a cash cow. Trapped in his tight inner circle, Presley was fed,

The singer in constant giddy, giddy alienation



fed and fed on drugs by sycophants willing to cope to his every whim.

The net set in, as far as drugs were concerned, during Presley's army stint in Germany. It was there that he discovered amphetamines and began using them indiscriminately to offset the effects of his late-night escapades with Priscilla Beaulieu, the 14-year-old daughter of a U.S. army captain. On his return to the United States, Presley jumped into a succession of quickie movies, all calculated to capitalize on his sexy image and raucous voice. From 1961 to 1969, Presley made nearly 30 movies, often as many as four a year. Although few were well received critically, their commercial success led to 21 top-selling sound-track albums. By the mid 1960s, Presley was earning \$1 million per movie plus a percentage of the gross. Parker was happy but Presley, Guralnick writes, started to reveal "an uncertainty, an almost fatalistic sense of dissatisfaction."

The singer tried to console himself with drugs, mostly speed and tranquilizers, and a steady parade of actresses and beauty queens—most after his 1967 marriage to Priscilla. Guralnick details Presley's peripatetic loneliness for young, impressionable women—a blank canvas ready to be moulded to Presley's own needs. He also began seeing Graceland sales during the 1960s.

Masterfully and movingly told, *Careless Love* stands as the definitive chronicle of the King's downfall. Although clearly a fan of Presley's best years and appreciative of his extraordinary talent, Guralnick does not save his eyes from his subject's fallings. Presley had the common touch, an ability to make people feel they were the sole object of his attention, a part because he desperately wanted to be loved. The ultimate tragedy is that Presley, despite himself to the end, never loved himself enough to be able to cope with the fame or his own mythology.

Notably, Presley did not get a shot at redemption. Presley did, with a 1968 television special. Deemed all in leather, Presley performed with a raw, sexual power not seen since his pre-war movie as a decade before. Abandoning his script, he tapped into what the show's producer, Steve Binder,

called "the darkness, the wild, untamed, an insidious change" that were such a part of his nature. Guralnick, who witnessed the performance while covering it for a *Rolling Stone* magazine, seems to relish the excitement when he writes "Each wildly unpredictable element seems only to encourage Elvis to forget himself all the more, encourage him, paradoxically, to find himself."

But the comeback was short-lived. By the early 1970s, Presley grew less and developed a taste for psychiatric drugs and music, as well as an over-reliance on amphetamines for pharmaceuticals—even after he was urged to get Richard Nixon to make him an honorary officer in the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. Las Vegas, Nev., which had provided him with a fantasy world and what Guralnick calls a "respite from all the self-doubt," contributed to the decline. He showed there, fearing a possibly, paralyzing Presley, because giddy, gaudy affairs that drew comparisons to Liberace and Zsa Zsa Gabor. His last tour, in June, 1977, was depressing for everyone involved. Writes Guralnick, "More and more the feeling grew that they had set out on a doomed voyage, cynicism, relentless, with no hope of turning back." Presley died at home two months later. An autopsy revealed that he had 14 different types of drugs in his system, many at toxic levels.

Masterfully and movingly told, *Careless Love* stands as the definitive chronicle of the King's downfall. Although clearly a fan of Presley's best years and appreciative of his extraordinary talent, Guralnick does not save his eyes from his subject's fallings. Presley had the common touch, an ability to make people feel they were the sole object of his attention, a part because he desperately wanted to be loved. The ultimate tragedy is that Presley, despite himself to the end, never loved himself enough to be able to cope with the fame or his own mythology.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

The power of place

Matt Cohen's finest novel explores his home turf

ELIZABETH AND AFTER
By Matt Cohen
(Knopf, 270 pages, \$32.95)

Every so often there appears a new novel with the power to remind readers why they read fiction in the first place. It regresses, it delights, it gets under the skin with a gritty originality that seems both strange and true. It comes at age-old scenarios and jets from a new angle, and it serves as a reminder that the most astonishing of matches is simply to be alive.

Matt Cohen's 13th novel, *Elizabeth and After*, is like that. It is even better than his last book, the 1999 novella, *Last Seen*, a surreal road comedy inspired by the death from cancer of Cohen's brother, Andy. *Last Seen* was hailed by many reviewers, including Margaret Atwood, as a breakthrough work in which Cohen Toronto-based author's 30 years of experimenting with fiction suddenly flowered with exceptional mastery. That book went on to be nominated for a Governor General's Award. But it was a small book, a perfect canoe ride on a full portage. *Elizabeth and After* is different. It generates a landscape seething with characters, struggles, memories. It creates a world that is both mythic and possibly familiar.



He sometimes recaptures a whole country's worth of tales

Cohen locates his story in the tiny town of his native city, Vaughan, Ont.—a setting he has used often before, though never to such effect. It is a rugged land, where farms and made towns thread the rock and bush of the Canadian Shield. Here, in the fictional farming community of West Galt, a young man called Carl McKenney has just returned from a self-imposed exile in British Columbia. The man he left is complex, and evokes his penchant for both violence and the bark because of them, he has lost his wife, Chrissy, and their young daughter, Lusia. Now, in the late 1990s, Carl has come back to find his loved ones living with his arch rival, local businessman Fred Vengaboers. Carl wants his family back—his friends by friend, his wife, his daughter. His hunger for justice toward the girl and his recognition he kills over the

death of his mother, Elizabeth. A decade before, she perished tragically in a road accident, and Carl was driving the one that killed her.

Carl is the meeting point for half a dozen other West Galt stories of old, then, as their way lives stories, all of them deeply intertwined. In his 1970 novel, *Fiftieth Avenue*, Robertson Davies explored life in a small town, drawing out its strands from the simple throbbing of a small town. Davies quickly showed his protagonists to the larger story of the city, while Cohen explores the darkness of complex aggressions and rural lives who have clung to one spot. For them, destiny lies in compensating itself, for the secrets and intrigues that have them are being added to bit by bit, every day. A smile, or the absence of one, can speak volumes. A political race for county reeve between Fred Vengaboers and the rich ex-leader Luke Richardson

seems to revitalize that go back generations.

Cohen seems to know all that as if he had been born in it. Like some old cost with a whole country in his head, he brings intricate little stories into his main narrative lines—stories that can jump back three decades, or introduce a whole new minor character—without seeming to interrupt his narrative flow. Everything in *Elizabeth and After* fits, a fight at a long-lost hockey game, or a drink too many—a

contributor, some necessary detail to the rich, tragicomic texture of Cohen's vision. Elizabeth—a schoolteacher of Jewish background and singular beauty—is very much at the centre of things. It seems that stretch back decades, she is seen fitting in with a young war veteran and farmer William McKenney. Out of a perverse desire to thwart her family's expectations and declare her freedom, she marries a bar—discovering too late that he is a shifty little alcoholic. There is a special magic in Elizabeth, a kind of secret, restrained yet dangerous hunger that seems to spread and consume everyone in the story. It's not, on one level, she were the goddess of love, and so one is immune to her charms—not even her apparently flawless accountant, Adam Goldsmith, who takes an oddly protective interest in Carl's struggles.

The novel pulses with memorable scenes. Cohen's impulsive poetic with Carl, one night after his return is almost sticky with emotions. Then there's the comic scene where Carl, in a bar, is told by a waiter that he is not the waiter. Cohen's style is minimalist that balances with the intense richness with a chapter into Luke's obsession with controlling others. Like Fred Vengaboers, Luke is both an individual and a symbolic reflection of many of Canada's political and business elite, with their hunger to wipe all their American. Caught between the ambitions of these two men, Carl—who develops into an extremely sympathetic character—represents the struggle for a way of life that is more an echo in local realities.

At its deepest, *Elizabeth and After* is a novel of place. Like trees, as characters seem to grow out of the land, and the more one can appreciate the less human and empathetic they appear. Carl, for all his failings, is somehow sustained and made stronger by his deep attachment to the woodland world of his native country, so beautifully evoked by Cohen. It is the gift of *Elizabeth and After* to show that the hardness of life can be redeemed, at least in part, by the love that leads to belonging.

JOHN REMBOUR

Dance

Moving in Lock step

The Montreal choreographer changes his style

In a middle age mellowing Canada's once-time edgy and terrible of contemporary dance? It's a tempting question as 46-year-old Montreal Lock brings his latest creation, *Salt to Canada*, the title, after all, refers to what remains. "When the sea is gone," according to Lock. But before anyone even does a parallel with the drying up of creative juices, the lucky choreographer with the dark, brooding eyes dismisses the idea. Lock says he feels just as young as he ever did—and that, a critically acclaimed, well-received production on the rebirth of the passage of time, shows no distinctive in his art.

Born in Morocco to Spanish parents and raised in Montreal since he was 3, Lock founded his beloved dance troupe, now called La La Bu man Steps, in 1980. Montreal was then a cauldron of dance experimentation that would soon give it an international reputation. Lock rapidly achieved the almost unheard-of status of being simultaneously serious and popular. By 1985, when he unveiled his breakthrough work, *Amorim Sin*, he was being hailed by critics for his ability to create innovative, provocative, and socially conscious dance pieces that combined film, live music, stage props, lighting and more. Lock was more than a choreographer. He proved himself a theatrical magician, one ready to tap into the verbiage of the MTV generation. It was no surprise when David Bowie and later Frank Zappa hired him to bring his art to their tours.

When Sin was the beginning of what Lock calls his "extreme" phase, which continued with such works as *New Demons* (1987) and *Infected*, a viral disease (1991). Everything about those pieces associated the serious, the bad rock music, the visual spectacle, the provocative imagery, the nudity and, above all, the movement. Lock's choreography could switch without warning from a nonverbal language of head gestures to extrinsic bursts that beat bodies

hurling horizontally through space in death and grossly defying body limits.

Through all this, one La La dancer in particular reflected Lock's vision, his music and sometime lover, Louise Lecavalier. Her tough, strong body projected passion and a strangely sensual sexuality. With her muscles worked to exhaustion, Lecavalier became a lightning rod for Lock's own brand of existential angst. "She put an incredible amount of effort into everything and her discipline was exactly an attraction for me," Lock acknowledges. "It was—and is—a shared nothing. For both of us, nothing else mattered."

Lock's extremities began to soften with his 1993 work, the experimentally titled *It*, presented in two acts, as himself and as an old woman. Lock says *It* was a response to the death of his 65-year-old father. In it he contrasted the poles of life and death, youth and old age. Lock says his choreography has continually evolved. "I reject certain concepts and principles, others become more interesting to me."

Like all of Lock's works, *Salt*—which had its Canadian premiere in Ottawa on Jan. 20 and travelled to Montreal, Quebec City and Toronto through February—will change during

the course of its planned two-year international tour. Although he has choreographed ballets in movie shows for such companies as the Dutch National Ballet and Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, Salt will be Lock's first piece for the six women and four men of La La La. "It moves more towards vertical movement. Dance shows distance the viewer from the ground. They give the sense of not quite belonging to the space you're dancing in."

Lock could very well be describing the effect his work has on audiences. As an artist who likes to challenge expectations, he takes people to another level of experience and rarely lets them down gently.

MICHAEL CRADY



Lock hopes hurting bravely

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Guruswami: *Justify for an ancient tribe*

Films

Passage to India

A Canadian director captures Rohinton Mistry

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Taking a movie camera into a Bombay bungalow is not easy. Guruswami simply did not set foot in Kurla until the day's glowing red-light district, never mind foreigners with film crews. So for Shashil Kumar, the Canadian director of *Such a Long Journey*, getting permission to film a short scene there required days of negotiation with various layers of government, police, gangsters and gangs. The neighborhood guards, or *wariis*, had to be paid off. And in shanty street scenes, Guruswami had to set up hidden cameras hours in advance. "It's unbelievable," he says. "There are five or six blocks of squatter. There are no civil authorities. Every building is a bachelors' with sons hanging out of them and rats running around. The economy of it is all as new. There are girls who have beds on the street, bed frames divided by pieces of cardboard."

Guruswami spent a day shooting in a relatively upscale bachelors' using the prostitutes as extras. "They all worked the night be-

fore and they were going to be working that night," he says. "But they were so concerned for us—we're assistant director in a woman, and they kept wanting to sit her down and bring her tea and bread her hair."

Back in Toronto, sitting in his first-class house that he shares with his wife and two children, the director recalls what a hard sale the making of shooting in India. "Bombay is a city of 15 million people as near as the size of Manhattan," he says. "It's chaotic and corrupt. But the fly was in that everywhere you meet people who go out of their way to help you. Nothing ever turns out the way you expect, but somehow everything turns out."

It is hard to imagine Guruswami, an Icelandic-born Canadian, feeling at home in Bombay. But the 41-year-old director has made a career of intently plugging into unknown waters. In the world of Canadian cinema, which is dominated by the dark, the intrepid and the all-but-by the likes of Cronenberg, Egoyan and McKelvie—Guruswami is our resident Viking, an outboard-bound navigator on the high seas of realism. "I always used film," he says, "as an ap-

parity to explore places I haven't seen before."

As a medical young filmmaker working with the National Film Board, he took the unlikely step of directing his first feature documentary to the issue of executive job placement. *After the Awe* (1982), about a fired middle-aged executive, was nominated for an Oscar. Since then, Guruswami's camera has roamed from the back rooms of Canada's labour movement (1985's *Final Offer*) to the death squads of South Africa's apartheid regime (1987's Emmy-winning *Guns & Love*). To research his first dramatic feature, *Diplomatic Immunity* (1991), Guruswami risked his life in El Salvador at the height of the civil war. And even his TV movies have a cinematic edge—from *The Diary of Evelyn Lane* (1994), the true story of a teenage brother that launched the career of Geste-winning actor Sandra Oh, to *Motiv* (1995), which dramatized the struggle of Toronto's Asian community.

At last, however, Guruswami had doubts about adapting *Such a Long Journey*, the award-winning 1995 novel by Indian-born Canadian Rohinton Mistry. "I wondered, 'What gives me the right to direct this movie? I didn't know if I'd have the confidence to take on a story in a foreign culture.' But India, like Canada, is an amalgam of disparate cultures. And the characters in Mistry's novel—the story of a dilapidated bank clerk whose wife starts unraveling around him—are Parsis, a tiny minority whose Zoroastrian ancestors immigrated from Persia 800 years ago. When Guruswami first visited Bombay, an Indian actor set him straight: "What makes you think a Hindu or a Muslim knows more about Parsis than you do?"

The director has a personal link to India

through his wife of 20 years, a Vancouver-born set designer at Sikh descent. "The novel didn't feel exotic to me," he says. "I've been around an extended Indian family since 1938." But then Guruswami discovered an affinity with the Parsis through his own heritage. "They are like Icelanders," he says. "There are 300,000 Icelanders in Iceland and were an ancient tribe. There are 330,000 Parsis in the world and they're an ancient tribe."

Guruswami, who immigrated to Canada with his parents at age 7, grew up in Vancouver as an only child. His father, now deceased, was a naval architect in Iceland and worked as a contractor in Vancouver. Studying English literature and political science at the University of British Columbia, Guruswami made his first dramatic film when he took up in the jobbing politics of the day. "My first brush with show business," he laughs, "was making a play on the bringing about of revolutionary consciousness among the peasantry in China province." Graduating in 1974, he spent several years teaching the world, taking jobs as a shepherd in Chile, a truck driver in Shanghai and a dishwasher on an Icelandic fishing boat. Returning home, unable to find work, in 1977 he enrolled in a graduate film course at UBC, where he met his wife and found his vocation.

BEGUILING AND BITTERSWEET

SUCH A LONG JOURNEY
Directed by Shashil Kumar

Bombay, 1971. The rise of India's war with Pakistan. Indian independence, at most a quarter-century old, is losing its innocence, and a Bombay bank clerk named Gurdas Nohia (Rohinton Mistry) is watching his world slowly crumble around him. He has a defiant son who has reneged him by choosing to go into arts instead of engineering. He has a young daughter who has taken it with him—no doubt caused by mosquitoes infecting the urine-soaked wall outside his family apartment. And further complicating Gurdas's life, an old friend involved in a clandestine government mission asks him to secretly deposit a large sum of cash in the bank—money apparently unrelated to freedom fighters in Bangladesh.

Fatally reaped from the *Robbery* (Mistry novel), such a *Long Journey* features an impressive Indian cast. Rohini Sethi, whose credits include *Gandhi*, My Beloved Ladle and *Mississippi Masala*, won the best actor Geste this month for his quietly assured performance. On Jan. 10th of *Jag* brings a compelling mix of integrity and vulnerability to the role of Gurdas, the wise man who hands Gurdas his mission. And Rajat Choudhry (*Sam & Me*, *Real*) has a sub-

liminary documentary. Guruswami caught the tail end of the glory days at the National Film Board. Working closely with such NYU legends as Donald Brittain, Celia Low and John Squires, he learned the art of making subtle documentaries. And he has tried to bring the same subtlety to drama. Guruswami spent eight years working on *Diplomatic Immunity*, finally shooting the story in Mexico after repeated visits to El Salvador. Aside from almost dying, he had to sell his house, which he had mortgaged to help finance the film. "It was a nightmare," he recalls. "It's hard to spend that much of your life on a film, then watch it win some awards and get some polite applause and play in a couple of theaters for a few weeks."

By working on a low-budget, Guruswami at least knows that his work will be seen. His next project, which starts shooting this week, is a CBC movie called *Sore*, a drama based on the story of Darren Henson, a Vietnamese teen who murdered his mother in

1990. Meanwhile, with *Such a Long Journey*, his second dramatic feature, the director hopes to crack the elusive audience for Canadian cinema. The film marks a departure. It is his least provocative work, a lyrically textured adaptation of a novel that sheds a soft light on the human condition.

But in India, may cause controversy. Since 1971, the story involves a subplot about corruption implicating former prime minister Indira Gandhi. Her crimes have been well documented by the local news media but remain a taboo subject for India's strictly censored cinema. Reviewing *Such a Long Journey* in its largest English-language daily, *The Times* of India, called the movie's political honesty "brilliant." The paper went on to praise Guruswami as "a director with an insider's perspective" who has made a "subtle, brooding film...with maturity and delicate feeling." Once again, Guruswami traveled the extra mile to get it right, and those who knew could tell the difference. □



Seth (right) at prayer: a dose of size watching his world slowly crumble around him

limely offhand touch as the parent who watches Gurdas's wall from a public toilet into a religious mural God who spits out the film's credo—"Life's problems begin when we start to look for permanence."

But the narrative has so many threads that most of them get fully developed. Although director Shashil Kumar weaves the film with a vividly textured weave of images, some Terepore's script lacks a central moment. Gurdas, the oldest little man at the heart of the story, is almost lost in a crowd of subplots. His handsome wife, Delawar (Soni Handal), falls under the spell of the film's updates in an attempt to cure her husband's ailments. His wife, the beautiful, half-Indo (Rohini Sethi), looks after

his daughter's blind old, his co-worker, an eccentric teacher named Dhanraj (Sam Dastoor), harasses the office beauty. And on top of that is the riddle of the political intrigue.

Such a *Long Journey* looks for God in the details, without pretending to find Him. In capturing the fragility of life, the film achieves a bittersweet paradox. And as a lyrical mosaic of life's small moments, it is full of wonderful moments. For those who loved the novel, the film may indeed illuminate the magic. But the viewer who comes to the movie cold may feel like a traveler who watches a beguiling landscape roll by without really getting to know the inhabitants.

Allan Fotheringham

Why Bill and Monica made such a lovely couple

As I told my buddy Pam Wallin on one of her TV gigs, the acquittal was the greatest cinematic miracle since Jesus Christ was nailed to the cross.

This was simply the case of a disadvised man, most often emerging from church with wife and daughter, carry a Bible in his hand, who then reversed that afternoon to the Oval Office to be served by a shy uninitiated poet. In effect, it was living a postulate without having to pay for her.

The story of Bill Clinton, as the story of all of us, can be found in his roots. He was here William Jefferson Byrd III, one month ahead of schedule, by census takers, in 1946. As his mother, daughter of the town sheriff, smoked two packs of Pall Malls a day, bashed in a southern folk was an irrefutable flirt who spent most of her days at the meerkat. Her father would give her money of whisky at age 12.

When the married couple, Bill and Monica, were married, she didn't know that he had been married to a 15-year-old best her clothes (one in a suitcase), then in a 20-year-old, then to the first bride's sister; then had a girl born in a Missouri waitress to whom he also might have been married.

He almost immediately went off to war and then, trying to drive from Chicago to Hope, overtook, died in a ditch when his tank overturned. Lately, whose mother was with his father less than six months, was born three months later.

When he was 3, his mother left for New Orleans for two years to train as a nurse anesthetist. He was raised by his grandmother, who worshipped him. While he was in his high chair, she taught him with homemade flash cards containing letters and numbers. He could read at 3.

Mother then married her dealer Roger Clinton, who came from the deepest gambling town of Hot Springs, Ark., where Al Capone had a career wife and kept a mistress in the closet. He was a drunk and beat her, until the 14-year-old future president towering over him, worried his grandfather never to do it again.

He drove a four-door black Buick to Hot Springs High School. At 26 he was already neck-deep three and over 200 lb. Chubby and awkward,



word, he could never make a sports team and so took up saxophone in the school band. Washington Post reporter David Marantz, who wrote in 1996 a wonderful book on Clinton, *First in His Class*, notes that he practised every night, filling up the lonely hours of childhood. "He had always hated to be alone, and playing the sax was one of the few ways he could tolerate it."

He was so bright no one in high school can ever remember him studying. Sent to Washington with an elite group of boy leaders, he showed his way with his bull in the front of the line in the Rose Garden to get the now-famous photo of him shaking hands with his idol (in the second made photo, JFK. It was the only photo taken). Moving on to prestigious Georgetown University (a Washington, the hillbilly son from the back state surely became president of the freshman class over all those Ivy League prepsters, and sophomore president. A favoured professor told him that great men in history slept no more than five hours. Clinton returned to his dorm and set the alarm clock to begin sleeping five hours a night).

While on campus, his drunken stroller died. As Marantz notes, it was two fathers dead—and in a sense he knew another of them. "He had been raised, in reality, by two mothers who competed for his love and attention."

Even his closest friends at Georgetown laughed when he applied for a Rhodes Scholarship—founded by Empire State Cecil Rhodes for bright boys who demonstrated "moderate and success in sports." Clinton simply didn't have it. Even his closest friends at Georgetown laughed when he applied for a Rhodes Scholarship—founded by Empire State Cecil Rhodes for bright boys who demonstrated "moderate and success in sports." Clinton simply didn't have it.

He was also chairman of the Student Athletic Commission and decided the Rhodes interviewers with his choice. At Oxford, one of 32 American elite, half of them thought him "a classic southern gentleman politician." But he was awarded that, within 45 minutes of meeting, he convinced them he was going back to Arkansas to be governor or senator as a national leader. As the inside Marantz figured out, even then those contradictions co-existed in Clinton: "transcendence and calculating, cunning and archaic, no-chance and producer."

His present book, which ends in 1991, when Clinton announced he ran for the presidency, predicts everything that follows. The detail of his sidestepping and prevention at Oxford while trying to avoid the Vietnam draft to inchworm. While his fellow Rhodes scholar Frank Miller, honestly not drink drinking, goes home to Spokane and takes a postal and tells himself.

Mon in the meantime, has married her third husband, Jeff Davis, a divorced landscape who ran a beauty parlour and had been convicted in a stock-sounding case and spent nine months in the dungeon.

Monica Lewinsky has confessed: "I have had my entire life." They make a perfect pair.

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